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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE CANADIAN EASTERN ARCTIC:

ASPECTS OF HOUSING AND EDUCATION

by

MICHAEL CORLEY RICHARDSON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Community Development in the Canadian Eastern Arctic: Aspects of Housing and Education" submitted by Michael Corley-Richardson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development.

.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date: October 3, 1975

DEDICATION

This thesis is respectfully dedicated to

the Inuit of today and tomorrow

ABSTRACT

The Canadian eastern Arctic has a significant population of Inuit in thirteen settlements. From 1945, the end of the second World War, to the present time, programs of housing and education have been introduced by the federal government within these settlements. These programs have met with minimal success.

This thesis examines these programs in an historical perspective. A set of concepts related to community development are used to examine these programs. It is found that, while certain basic physical needs of the Inuit were provided for, in the administration of housing programs, a minimum of local input was solicited or realized. The educational programs are based on the model of educational institutions found suitable among the Euro-Canadians in the southern parts of Canada and are found to be inconsistent with Inuit values and life styles. On the whole educational and housing programs have failed to take into account the local situations and have not achieved local participation consistent with aims and principles of Community Development.

The thesis recommends a thorough evaluation of the basic assumption underlying northern development strategies, so that local aspirations and social considerations are reflected in governmental structure and programming.

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Chapter I

Introduction

> "The substance of the situation is that Eskimos are trying just as hard today to adapt as they did 500 or 900 years ago; the difficulty is that they are adapting not to an Arctic but to a Temperate Zone way of living."
>
> Lantis, 1957:126

> ". . . it would seem that a life which denies to the Eskimos a worthwhile place, one of dignity and self-respect in their own surroundings, should not by any assessment be considered acceptable."
>
> Hughes, 1965:48

An Introductory Story

The Government of the Northwest Territories is committed to the concept of more education in the settlements of northern Canada. As part of this program, and in an effort to make special and vocational education available within the Arctic, a new residential school was opened at Frobisher Bay in 1971. Frobisher Bay is an eastern Arctic settlement, but it also has a reputation among Inuit and white alike for drunkenness, violence and prostitution. To many it appears to be the embodiment of everything that is wrong with northern development and with government administration.

In 1971 children from most of the smaller and remoter settlements of the eastern Arctic were sent to the new school.

This school had been planned from 1967 and construction was completed in 1971. During that time there was minimal consultation with any of the families whose children were to attend the school. For many years the Inuit parents had been complaining about the residential school in Churchill, but little open discussion on the subject was ever held.* What criticisms were voiced were not widely circulated and were largely ignored.

When the school did open in Frobisher Bay many of the parents expressed anxiety at the notoriety of the place, and were relieved when the pupils began to trickle home. With them came stories of violence and drunkenness within the residence, and of girls locking their doors in fear of assault. Some pupils left and returned to their own settlement en masse. It was not surprising when Inuit parents raised questions with local officials and with senior civil servants about the situation of the school; and, despite some remedial suggestions, they stood ready to forbid their children to return to the school.

Brody (1975) cites, as indicative of unrest over the school, the rapid decline in the numbers of students in attendance; between 1971

*The author was in the eastern Arctic during this time and partook of some of these discussions.

and 1973, total enrolment fell from 220 to 100, and the numbers in residence, from 150 to 60. Residence capacity is over 400.

Brody (1975:189) concludes:

> "Those figures represent a revulsion against the institution and against Frobisher Bay by both parents and children of many communities. Despite the Eskimo distaste for residential education, the Frobisher Bay school was established with a complete disregard for what the authorities knew the Eskimo attitudes to be, and there it now stands in the face of widespread opposition from pupils and parents alike - hardly very useful for its purpose."

The Problem

In attempting to define any problem, and hopefully a solution, one must account for a wide diversity of factors and variables: the situation, the people, the geographic locale, the time-frame and time-span, internal and external forces, local constraints, regional and national constraints, even international constraints. This is doubly important when one is examining a northern native situation, for in this case both the reader and the author must take each factor across a cultural barrier, and examine it within its proper context.

With this in mind, this thesis will examine two aspects of northern community development, viz, housing and education; and it will limit itself to the eastern Arctic portion of the Canadian Northwest Territories.

The data presented will relate in general to a few communities within this area, but the hope remains that it will have wider implications for community development work throughout the entire Canadian Arctic, and indeed, throughout the whole of the inhabited circumpolar region.

The Inuit as a group have been stock figures for study in anthropology (Hughes, 1965) and in the social sciences (Graburn and Strong, 1973) since well before the beginning of this century. While it is accurate to state that the Eskimos of the Canadian eastern Arctic have been cognizant of such southern luxuries as tea, rifles, steel knives, and telescopes since the time of the Scottish whalers in the early and mid-1800s, the common possession of these items and, more particularly, the attitudes which accompany them, are much more recent phenomena (Graburn and Strong, 1973; Hughes, 1965). Indeed, accelerated cultural change has been most evident only since the Second World War (Crowe, 1974). Graburn and Strong (1973:138) attribute this change to the rapid growth of all forms of communication from this time.

Until then, Canadian northern policy had generally limited itself to the prevention of foreign incursion upon Canadian sovereignty; to the protection of the subsistence fur-trapping economy; and to a minimal and token resource exploitation (Judd, 1969). However, with the recognition of the strategic importance of the Canadian North under wartime conditions, and with the establishment of new (and the expansion of old) settlements as communications, meteorological, and transport centres, most notably under the command of the United States Air Force, culture

change accelerated rapidly. Of this time period Judd states, "After 1945 Canada went North . . . as an anxious landlord; nervous about the behaviour of her northern wartime tenants." (Judd, 1969:341)

Former Governor-General Vincent Massey, in What's Past is Prologue (1963:371), expressed his consternation with the following words: "[The Americans] have apparently walked in and taken possession in many cases as if [northern] Canada were unclaimed territory inhabited by a docile race of aborigines."

Therefore, a high level of unease concerning Canada's North and its changing conditions led Ottawa to design definitive policies in the immediate post-war years:

1. In 1946, aerial reconnaisance and photomapping of the entire Arctic mainland and islands were undertaken by the Royal Canadian Air Force;

2. In 1946, a senior Canadian civil servant was appointed to the post of Commissioner of the Northwest Territories;

3. In 1947, construction was undertaken of the first Canadian Coast Guard supply vessel to serve in the Eastern Arctic Patrol;

4. In 1947, the first Dominion government school in the North was established;

5. In 1948, social assistance, in the form of family allowance and old age assistance, was instituted on a regular basis;

6. In 1950, and in the years following, there was a shift in responsibility for northern administration and Eskimo affairs to a

new, specially designed Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The departmental name was later changed to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), and is now commonly regarded as the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DINA). These changes, and more, were made largely by bureaucrats in the southern capital who, for the most part, had spent little time in northern Canada, and who were ignorant of northern geographical and cultural conditions (Hughes, 1965; Judd, 1969).

The problem, then, lies with this changing cultural landscape. In general, how have the Eskimos of the eastern Arctic* adapted to these changing conditions? More specifically, in light of the Federal Government's existing programs and policies for northern social and "community" development, what provisions have been made for these changes with respect to some of the more accepted principles of community development? With regard to this the following questions might be asked:

1. What changes have occurred in education policies and practices in the two and one-half decades from 1945 to 1970?

2. What changes have occurred in housing policies and practices in the same time period?

---

*. . . in particular, the Eskimos of those settlements with which the author is quite familiar. He spent three years in the high eastern Arctic as an officer with the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In both Frobisher Bay and Grise Fiord, he was actively involved in education, social development, and local government administration and activities. To a certain extent, this thesis will draw upon his personal experiences.

3. To what extent have these changes been imposed from without . . .

i) . . . with or without a proper recognition of Inuit cultural values?

ii) . . . with or without prior local consultation of any sort?

iii) . . . with or without a proper concern for any of the guidelines of accepted community development theory?

4. Has there been any sort of citizen involvement in the policy and program implementation?

5. What, if anything, does constitute the Government's concept of community development, in respect of northern development?

The Problem of Northern Development

The general problem of northern development is one with which the present Government is finding itself increasingly occupied. It is a problem of exceeding complexity and will require many years of research and study, and trial and error, before any solution is approached; if, indeed, there is such a "solution" or "set of solutions." Similarly, northern community development poses problems of immense magnitude. Officials and development workers have been forced to attempt an effort to bridge the many barriers - cultural, technological, and economic - which have come in their way. In many cases they have failed; in other cases they have succeeded; but in most, the attempts, at best, have been very token.

Many criticisms can be levelled at the Government in its policies and programs of the past two decades. Many practices have been followed which have been "wrong," or which have led to detrimental results; other practices have been implemented for the wrong reasons; and still other practices have produced beneficial results, but have been abandoned. While it is very easy to censure and to find fault, particularly if one has not involved oneself in the effort, it is considerably more difficult to constructively criticize, and to offer valid recommendations for improvement. In this instance, the author is of the opinion, and will substantiate in the present thesis the following two hypotheses:

1 . . . that the Government has displayed a well-intentioned effort and has attempted to follow a constructive course in the development of the eastern Arctic;

2 . . . that in all of its honesty, however, it has largely ignored the concept of citizen participation and has espoused no philosophy of community development whatsoever.

Selection of the Problem

Education and housing are, perhaps, more readily examined than any other field of northern community development. They are fields which engender intense interest common to all circumpolar regions, Alaska, Canada, Greenland, Lapland, and the Soviet Union, and are, therefore, more readily accessible to comparative study. Many authors (Hughes, 1965; Olsen, 1969; Darnell, 1972; Boserup, 1969; Gordon, 1971; and others) hold out one or the other of these as being an avenue to the solutions of northern development. Furthermore, an increasing emphasis

is being placed by the Government upon such local decision-making power structures as housing associations, co-operatives, and the committee structure of the settlement council.

> The importance of fur for cash and caribou for food was being replaced by an increasing emphasis on education, health, and wage employment . . . . The family centred life of the Eskimos was suddenly becoming a community oriented one.
>
> D.I.A.N.D., 1972:2

It is timely that an examination of this type be undertaken:

1. the voyage of the SS Manhatten;
2. the discovery of oil and natural gas deposits in the Arctic islands;
3. the discovery of lead and zinc on Little Cornwallis Island, zinc and silver at Arctic Bay, and Iron Ore at Mary River;

all of these have maintained a strong focus of southern Canadian and worldwide interest upon the North. Many criticisms have been levelled at governmental activities. In many instances these criticisms have been justified; but, in many cases, the critics have spoken out of ignorance.

Finally, the Government has recently authorized the expenditure of several millions of dollars for the establishment of a new community outside of Arctic Bay for the development of the zinc and silver mine,

and the Inuit settlement at Resolute is to be relocated at a new site adjacent to the highly-utilized airfield. Little more than the physical planning for these moves has as yet been examined, and yet firm decisions have been taken. The implications for either, or both, of these moves for Inuit family and community life are enormous (Gibson, 1975). Furthermore, with the exception of some definitive ethnographic studies of Eskimo life, little study of a social change or community development nature has been made. And yet, regular decisions affecting these people and these communities are being taken. Therefore, it appears that the Government's concept of community development is quite at odds with some of the more accepted definitions of the term, and of its principles (United Nations, 1968; Arnstein, 1971).

Objectives

The main purpose of this study will be to examine the community development aspects of housing and education programs and policies in the Canadian eastern Arctic. More specifically, the objectives will be to:

1 . . . describe the socio-cultural context of the Canadian eastern Arctic;

2 . . . analyze and discuss those community development aspects of the housing and education programs pertaining to the eastern Arctic Eskimos;

3 . . . suggest and recommend some guidelines based upon principles of community development for use with programs of northern development.

Methods of Study

The data to be presented in this study are primarily descriptive in nature. The information, in most instances, has been researched from library and government document sources, and from documents produced by the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies at the University of Alberta, by the Arctic Institute of North America in Montreal and Washington, and by the Scott Polar Research Institute at Cambridge, England. In addition, reliance is placed on sources from the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, and from the author's own northern experiences.

In most instances, the data will be as current and as recent as possible. In a few cases, however, reliance is placed upon such standard reference works as remain as classics in their field, irrespective of the date of publication (cf. Boas, 1888; Forde, 1934; Stefansson, 1913). These will be utilized primarily to establish the socio-cultural background in Chapter II.

In general, the data from these sources will cover the basic timespan from the Second World War to the beginning of the present decade. The reader will be aware that, from 1967 to 1970, responsibility for some parts of northern development, including housing and education, was progressively shifted from the Federal Government in Ottawa to the Territorial Government in Yellowknife. The shift of responsibility in these matters, in respect of the eastern Arctic, was completed in 1970. It is for this reason, then, that the main body of data covers the period only to the beginning of the current decade. It should be noted, however,

that many of the programs discussed below have continued unchanged. In addition, for reasons which will be discussed later, Ottawa's influence has continued to be felt very strongly in all facets of northern development. Therefore, any conclusions and recommendations will apply as much to the efforts of the Yellowknife Government at the present time, as they will to those of Ottawa.

The discussions are presented as an overview and examination of the problems inherent in the Government's housing and education programs. The perspective, necessarily, is historical; and, through the use of analytical discussion, an attempt is made to provide recommendations for solution. It should be noted, however, that this study does not provide for meticulous solutions, nor was it intended to do so. Indeed, some of the assumptions made do seem to move from the stage of tentative hypothesis to arrogation of certainty, and these faults are recognized and freely admitted. This is meant to be, above all, provocative of new thought. It aims at the encouragement of inquiry and study on a much broader front than exists today, and perhaps it will provide some insight into new hypotheses which may be arrived at through a multidisciplinary approach.

The main limitation of this study surrounds the data themselves. The Canadian eastern Arctic is a vast, extensive, and non-homogeneous region. Each community and each group of Eskimos exhibits separate and individual parameters, and there can be no unique solution to development problems in the various communities. Any recommendations,

therefore, can only be limited in their applicability. In an attempt to overcome this limitation, any guidelines will be as general as possible, without sacrificing their utility.

A second limitation of the data involves the fact that different development agents take differing attitudes towards the people and their involvement in the programs. By this, is meant that each program has not exhibited the same lack, or presence, of community development principles. By the same token, the same program in different communities has not necessarily exhibited this same lack or presence. As far as possible, any differences between programs or between communities will be stressed in the discussions.

A third limitation involves the distance, time, and financial factors in regard to the collection of current and on-site data. The Arctic is a dynamic world, and the conditions described below can only be viewed within the framework of their own time. Therefore, this thesis can only provide a background analysis. However, it would be hoped that it might provide a basis upon which further studies might be built.

The examination of a culture, any culture, from without, requires that one remain constantly aware of the shift in cultural context. This remains a real limitation for both the author and the reader. The only suitable means of overcoming this limitation is simply to be aware that

it exists.

Finally, this study is subject to observer and professional bias. It is difficult to determine if another writer might have presented the same material and come to the same conclusions. However, every attempt is made to portray the programs as they actually occurred, and not to exclude any relevant material, even if it disagreed with the main hypotheses of the thesis.

In presenting this thesis an attempt is made to present a clear and concisely organized account of the housing and education activities of the Government in the eastern Arctic. Each chapter is presented as a unit of material unto itself, and can be read on its own.

Chapter II outlines the socio-cultural background of the eastern Arctic, and of Government involvement in the North. It concludes with the end of the Second World War. Chapter III is rather weighty and establishes a theoretical framework for the discipline of community development. It provides details of the concepts and models of the field. The latter part of this Chapter examines some of the more recent literature which tie together community development and northern development.

Chapter IV examines housing and the fifth Chapter outlines the

process of education in the North. Attention is paid to the programs of the Federal Government and to the way in which they relate to social and cultural change. Finally, Chapter VI draws the thesis to a conclusion.

Note on Terminology

Many terms are currently in use, both in northern and in southern Canada, which refer variously to northerners and to northern natives. While there is no universal agreement on terminology among scholars, there is a certain degree of common usage. To facilitate further the reading of this thesis, some of these terms are briefly explained below.

In the Canadian Arctic the term "northerner" generally refers to one who resides in the North. More recently, however, and when used by members of the northern native populations, the term excludes those southern Canadian whites who are transient residents, as opposed to permanent residents, of the North. It should also be explained at this point that the terms "white" and "native" do not necessarily have the pejorative connotations in the North that they do in some other places. In fact, Arnold and Tussing (1969:1) note that the aboriginal groups of Alaska actually prefer the term "native" in relation to themselves, and that the Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts have joined together to form the Alaska Federation of Natives. "White" and "whiteman" are still commonly used in the North and in the literature on the North, but they are being replaced by many writers by the Eskimo word for whiteman, "kabloona." (Graburn, 1969; Vallee, 1967; Vallee, 1972; and others)

A complicating factor here, however, arises from the fact that there is not yet a standard Eskimo orthography; therefore, "kabloona" is a phonetic spelling. It appears variously in the literature as "kabloona," "kudloona," "kudlunat," "qadlunat," and so on.

A new phrase which has appeared recently, and is coming into common usage (Chance, 1972; Darnell, 1972; Arnold, 1972), is "Euro-Canadian." This is a somewhat more specific phrase in that it differentiates the whiteman from the "aboriginal-Canadian," and is less open to misinterpretation than whiteman. It does not, however, make provision for southern Canadians of other than European extraction; but then, neither does the term "whiteman." To the northern "aboriginal-Canadian" this is not necessarily an important criticism of the term, for the Eskimo word "kabloona" doesn't make any such distinction either. What is important in the use of the term is that, for the first time, both the native and the whiteman are specifically termed "Canadians," and the only distinction lies in the historical time of arrival. Thus, any racial overtones can be disregarded. Finally, Chance (1972) carries the reasoning further to use the terms "Euro-North American" and "Euro-American" in reference to the Alaskan North.

It was noted above that Alaskan Eskimos prefer to be referred to as "natives." "Native" is not, however, the term of choice of the Canadian Eskimo. They prefer to be called "Inuit" - an Eskimo word meaning simply "the people." "Inuit" is plural; "Inuk" is singular.

The word "Eskimo" is not highly regarded by the Inuit themselves since it is actually an Algonkian word for "eaters of raw flesh." "Inuktitut" is the language of the Inuit.

The terms "Inuit" and "Euro-Canadian" will be used consistently throughout this thesis.

Finally, it might be noted that the term "circumpolar" is used to denote those areas bordering on the Arctic Ocean. Thus, "circumpolar regions" would comprise Northern Canada, Alaska, the Soviet North, northern Scandanavia, and Greenland. "Circumpolar nations," on the other hand, are those countries with territories in the circumpolar region. Those with significant Inuit populations would include Canada, the United States (Alaska), Denmark (Greenland), and the Soviet Union. If reference is made generally to northern natives, as opposed to simply Inuit, then the area known as Fenno-Scandia would be included.

A Note on Comparative Circumpolar References

> The problems of cross-cultural education in one nation are likely to be the problems of cross-cultural education in all nations, and the problems of each behavioral and social science are likely to be the problems of all behavioral and social sciences when applied to the cross-cultural educational process.
>
> Darnell, 1972:preface

In examining the administrative situation among the northern natives of all of the circumpolar nations, perhaps the single most striking feature is an aspect which is colonial in nature. Arnold (1972:77) states this as ". . . the principal administrators of Indian, Eskimos, Aleuts, Greenlanders, and Lapps are seldom themselves descended from the original inhabitants of the North." This is to say that, while there is an increasing degree of political and social control exerted by the various native groups within the northern situation, this control is, as yet, minimal. Effective control is still maintained by Caucasians and other non-natives. In the case of Greenland these would be Danes; in the Canadian North, Euro-Canadians; in Alaska, non-native Americans; and so on. Further, effective control over such matters as resource management, social and political development is still predominantly held by non-resident non-natives. For this reason development within these areas has usually reflected a non-native and non-northern bias (Arnold, 1972; Chance, 1972; Pimlott, 1973).

A comprehensive examination of the experiences of Canada in comparison with those of Alaska, Greenland, or the Soviet Union, all of which have significant populations of Eskimos, would lie outside the purview of this study. It is important, however, for the reader to be aware that many of the experiences and problems which are so prevalent in the Canadian Arctic are, in fact, common to all circumpolar nations. It would be useful, therefore, to indicate briefly some of the pertinent literature from which the reader might draw meaningful contrasts with what is being presented below.

Jenness (1962-7), to this time, has remained unrivalled in the field of comparative northern development. While dated now, his Eskimo Administration series historically portrays the development of administration within the circumpolar region. Earlier, but still definitive, is Hughes (1965). His article in Current Anthropology specifically examines culture change among the Eskimos. Particularly relevant to education, Hobart and Brant (1966) discuss the concept of "cultural replacement" in comparing the relative situations of Danish and Canadian Eskimo education.

More recently, some of the papers of the "First International Conference on Cross-Cultural Education in the Circumpolar Nations" (Darnell, 1972) are most important to our discussions in that it is the first conference of its type. In relation to housing, both Schuurman (1970) and Gordon (1971) examine the housing history of Greenland and draw many comparisons with the Canadian eastern Arctic. Of particular interest is the fact that both authors closely review the concept of the housing association and the relevance of housing education.

Finally, Hughes (1965:48) reduces the circumpolar experiences to their lowest common denominator:

> Whether the traditional pan-Eskimo values of a stern self-reliance and capability rooted in group-orientation and communalism are best served by a tightly integrated development program with an explicit emphasis on the

'state' as being only a higher order of traditional group structure; by a less well integrated but still comprehensive plan; by a collocation of separate 'development schemes' undertaken by various government agencies unrelated to each other; or by a frank laissez faire approach, perhaps cannot be decided on the basis of evidence available now, except in the most basic terms: biological survival of the group. All populations have survived - but some, only barely.

Chapter II

Socio-cultural Background of the Canadian Eastern Arctic

> "I have often wondered that any human being should live in a cold country who can find room in a warmer one."
>
> Thomas Jefferson

> "Whoever is familiar with the Polar Regions knows that precisely the mightiest natural features here have a certain uniformity, and, just as one may speak of a desert nature, one may certainly speak of a polar nature . . . The more closely one gets to know the Polar Regions, the more their uniformity disappears from view and the more the separate individual regions stand out in their characteristics."
>
> Nordenskjold, 1928:3

The Land

To the north of Labrador and Quebec the eastern Arctic extends from 61° 30' N at Resolution Island to 83° N at Ward Hunt Island. In the east this region is bounded by the eastern boundary of Canada; and in the northwest, by the Arctic Ocean and the polar ice pack. The western and southwestern boundaries are somewhat more arbitrary and, for the purposes of this thesis, will follow administrative lines. In areal extent this region comprises all of the major Arctic islands of the Queen Elizabeth group, as well as Baffin Island, half of Somerset Island, and half of Prince of Wales Island. In addition, a small slice of the Arctic mainland, Melville Peninsula in the area of Foxe Basin, is included. The total land area involved exceeds 370,000 square miles, or 30 per cent of the total area of the Northwest Territories.

In this instance the boundaries of the eastern Arctic coincide with the administrative boundaries of the Baffin Region of the Northwest Territories government. It is advantageous, perhaps, to utilize an arbitrarily established administrative region since the methods of statistics gathering and data reporting can be uniform across the entire area, and the region as a whole represents a statistical reporting unit. In this manner activities within this region can be compared with those of the other regions of the Government of the Northwest Territories: the Inuvik Region, the Fort Smith Region, and the Keewatin Region.

Before beginning to outline the physiographic characteristics of the land referred to as the eastern Arctic, it would be helpful to examine how various specialists have delimited the Northland, the North, or the Arctic. Hamelin (1968), Sater (1969), Baird (1964), Gibson (1972), Thoren (1969), and others, have all established criteria for limits to what they have referred to as the North, the Arctic, the Northland, or nordicite. Embodied in these criteria are characteristics and features which set the polar region apart from all other regions on earth. At the same time these features allow for a certain measure of comparison among areas within that region.

Gibson (1972:3) has chosen one of the more simple boundaries for a reason which applies readily to this thesis. He acknowledges that many specialists have chosen boundaries which correspond to physical, economic, political, or cultural features; for example, the tree line, the Arctic Circle, the southern limit of discontinuous permafrost, the northern limit of contiguous settlement, the southern limit of bonus

pay, and so on. However, for his purposes, those of comparing the Canadian and Soviet northlands, Gibson has simply taken the sixtieth parallel of northern latitude. This boundary, he explains, has been used by some writers in both the Soviet Union and in Canada; and, while many others do not like this demarcation, it is used officially for administrative purposes. It forms the southern border of the Yukon and Northwest Territories; therefore, this boundary delimits a statistical reporting unit. It was for this same reason that this thesis utilizes the administrative borders of the Baffin Region of the Government of the Northwest Territories to delimit the eastern Arctic.

Captain Thoren (1969:ix) similarly uses a relatively simple boundary, the Arctic Circle or 66° 33' of northern latitude. He is concerned, in this instance, with compiling an atlas of the Arctic. For his purposes he has chosen the Arctic to mean the "Far North": "the Arctic Ocean, all coastal seas and islands, and continental fringes which lie north of the Arctic Circle" (1969:1x). Accordingly, Thoren has set a limiting polar distance of 23° 27', or 1,407 nautical miles. For our purposes, this designation includes all of the Queen Elizabeth Islands; but it arbitrarily excludes Frobisher Bay, the single most important and most populous settlement in the eastern Arctic.

Baird (1964), on the other hand, notes that latitudinal definitions of the Arctic or of the North tend to be somewhat unsatisfactory. ". . . the 'Arctic' area includes parts of the Hudson Bay coast as far

south as 55° N., and at sea-level northern Norway in 71° N. is certainly not Arctic in character" (1964:2). Therefore, Baird has compiled a list of polar characteristics which contribute to an Arctic concept rather than to an Arctic definition. His list (1964:3) includes:

1. High latitude
2. Long winter, short cool summer
3. Low precipitation
4. Permafrost
5. Frozen lakes and sea
6. Absence of trees

In reference to the sixth element above, Baird further subdivides it, after Hustich (1948), to include a 'Biological Forest Limit', the limit of continuous forest; the 'Tree Line', the absolute limit of a given species as a tree; and the 'Limit of Species', the line of advanced outposts of a species whatever form the growth may take, even prostrate (Baird, 1964:7). This last makes provision for Arctic birch and Arctic willow which may extend northward from the Tree Line, but which will not exceed eighteen inches in height.

The idea of relating to a concept rather than to a definition has considerable merit. Very few regions are characterized by a single factor; and those few that are can generally be subdivided further by various subfactors. For example, in geographic studies the Arctic is often presented as a single-factor region, characterized by the one factor of climate. However, climate, of necessity, implies: temperature, precipitation, wind velocity and direction, humidity, air pressure, wind chill, and so on. Hence, a polar researcher must examine the warmest

month isotherm, the average annual precipitation, degree-days of heating, potential evapotranspiration, and so on (see Baird, 1964:3-5). Rarely, if at all, will these factors allow for common boundaries to delimit the Arctic or the North. Therefore, they must be combined in some manner to provide for a conceptualization, rather than for a definition. Finally, the one element of Arctic life which Baird has neglected in his demarcation is that of man and his activities.

Sater, for the Arctic Institute of North America (1969), has noted that "the most useful definitions of arctic, in terms of their meaningfulness to man, are those based on climatic factors" (1969:3). However, no one of them has been accepted by all concerned. Nevertheless, "it is useful to list the factors that in sum make the Arctic the distinct region that it is, for it is these factors that give meaning to the concept and the word" (1969:3). The Arctic:

1. is located in the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere;
2. receives less solar radiation and, hence, surface warming because of the oblique angle of incident solar radiation;
3. is cold longer than temperate regions;
4. is distinguished by the absence of trees;
5. is characterized by the occurrence of permafrost under its land surface;
6. consists mainly of an ice-covered ocean;
7. experiences a wide range in the duration of daylight and darkness;
8. receives no more precipitation than most deserts but has many lakes and rivers that may freeze solid;

9. is very sparsely settled;
10. lies at considerable distance from the centers of population;
11. lies between the major population centers of the present day;
12. is not now of economic importance because its resources have only just become economically exploitable.

In reference to the twelfth item above, it is well to remember that it was written prior to 1970.

Sater, then, has included several items, namely, numbers 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12, which relate the Arctic's physical characteristics to man and to his habitation. He includes various elements of population density as criteria for "Arctic". Implicit in this is "southern population" density.

Finally, Hamelin (1968) has put together the most comprehensive analysis of the concept of North, in an attempt to measure degrees of "nordicité". He has established what he terms VAPO (values polaires), and he has arranged a series of ten criteria, each of which contributes to the nordicité of the area under consideration. Various degrees of each cirterion are assigned scores from 0 to 100; that is, from low (or non-existent) to high (or total) nordicité. Thus, in examining a hamlet such as Frobisher Bay, on Baffin Island, and comparing it with Grise Fiord, on Ellesmere Island, Hamelin would determine values for each of: latitude, summer heat, annual cold, types of ice, total precipitation, vegetation, accessibility other than by air, air service, population (settlement inhabitants or density), and degree of economic activity. These criteria, their classes and scores are included in some

detail in Appendix I.

The values that Hamelin has assigned to various northern centres are not in themselves relevant to our study. What is relevant, however, is the fact that he has felt it important to include elements of man's habitation and activity in his determination of the degree of northern isolation or "nordicité". He has felt that mankind's occupation of the North, whether permanent or transitory, and his economic activities within it (again, recognizing the indigenous contribution to northern economic activity - see criterion 10 in Appendix I) are inherently part of the character of that part of the world known as the North or the Arctic.

> "Given the choice of criteria the total nordicity of places and regions is modified by bioclimatic changes, technical discoveries and the general state of the country's development. This mobility is reflected in the life of each region. It is an indisputable fact that the exploitation of iron ore in central Quebec-Labrador has reduced the nordicity of this region, which was previously very isolated. Periodic calculations of the indexes would enable us to follow this geographic dynamism, an evolution which does not take in only the Taiga-tundra zone with its slow evolution."
>
> (Hamelin, 1968:21) *

It has been useful to examine the concept of "Arctic" rather than to attempt to set a definition to the term. This examination has shown that elements of land, climate, people, and resources all combine to form the concept, the features of which give meaning to the general term of the Canadian eastern Arctic. To establish more closely the

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* The emphasis is my own.

background of the area of this study, each of these elements will be examined in turn.

The physical features and landforms of the Canadian Arctic Islands are primarily northward extensions of those from farther south. The Canadian Shield is the outstanding structural feature of the eastern Arctic. Figure 4 shows it to extend northward around Hudson Bay from Ontario and Quebec, forming a saucer-shaped, concave depression, with its highest edge to the east. Here, along southeastern Ellesmere Island, eastern Devon Island, and central and eastern Baffin Island, the edge of the shield forms glacier-topped mountains rising to 7000 feet and more. The eastern coasts of these islands are highly indented and glaciation is such that the soil has been removed from some areas and masses of gravel and loose rock have been deposited in others. Dunbar (1966:8) states that the topography is characterized by outcroppings of rugged rock, scarcity of soil, and a high incidence of lakes.

Flat lowlands and plateaus up to 1,000 and 2,000 feet generally overlie the edges of the Canadian Shield on all sides. Typical of these flat-bedded lowlands would be the Hudson Bay Lowland to the southwest of Hudson Bay, "a flat and largely boggy area on the west coast of Hudson Bay which was below sea level at the end of the glacial epoch and has therefore a covering of marine sediments" (Dunbar, 1966:8). To the northwest of the shield, in the Arctic Islands, the plateaus take the form of confused lake-strewn surfaces, or boggy or dry stony surfaces. They are generally flat, although deeply cut by river valleys. Many of the

islands are marked by steep coastal cliffs which form physical barriers to extended travel (Dunbar, 1966). A third area of relief runs across the northwest edge of the Queen Elizabeth Islands. These are the folded mountains ranging in height from 7,000 to 9,000 feet, and are heavily glaciated (Dunbar, 1966).

The eastern Arctic, by and large, is dominated by a maritime climate. This means that, while the summer temperatures are considerably lower than the mainland Northwest Territories, the winter temperatures are not as extreme. The Mackenzie River Valley may record balmy summer temperatures of 80° or 85° F. (27° or 30° C.), but in winter they also record -60° or -65° F. (-51° or -54° C.) or lower. Snag, in the Yukon Territory and under the influence of the same continental air mass as the Mackenzie District, in February 1947 recorded a bone-chilling -81° F. (-63° C.). It is inconceivable that the Arctic Islands could experience such a recording for the maritime climate tends to moderate the air temperature. Therefore, it would be unusual for the eastern Arctic to exceed 50° to 55° F. (10° to 13° C.) in the summer (lower on the more northerly islands) or to record below -50° F. (-46° C.) in the winter.

Average annual precipitation across the Arctic is generally less than ten inches with five inches or less being usual for the Arctic Islands. This is very little precipitation: one-quarter that of Edmonton, one-seventh that of Toronto, and one-tenth that of Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 1973:46); the eastern Arctic is classified as a "cold desert". Phillips (1967:14) notes that "about the same amount

of annual precipitation is found by weather-stations reporting from Canada's Far North and from Cairo (U.A.R.)." The appearance of the Arctic, filled with lakes and moisture and unlike what any traveller would term a "desert," is accounted for by the permafrost, which does not allow for much of the water to run off into the ground, and by the low incidence of summer evaporation.

The final point to be mentioned regarding climate in the eastern Arctic is the number of hours of daylight. Southern Baffin Island, below the Arctic Circle (66° 33' N.), has the sun remain above the horizon on all days of the year for at least a few hours. This compares with Ellesmere Island, well above the Arctic Circle (see Figure 4), where the sun drops below the horizon in October, not to return until the end of the following February. This writer, after one year on southern Baffin Island, and two years on Ellesmere Island can attest to the fact that this has an immense affect upon the population of the area, Inuit and Euro-Canadian alike.

The People

It is generally regarded (Phillips, 1967; Crowe, 1974; and others) that the forerunners of today's American natives were a migration of people from the lands of Asia adjacent to the Bering Strait and the Bering Sea, known as Beringia. As the continental ice sheets of the last Ice Age began to recede between 12,000 and 15,000 years B.P. (before present), "a human flow passed across what is today the Bering Strait but was then a land bridge between the continents" (Phillips, 1967:28).

This migration took place during several thousands of years (Crowe, 1974) and culminated in the diffusion of peoples from the Arctic Sea to Tierra del Fuego.

> "As time passed each kind of region - desert, jungle, woodland, and mountain - became the home of people who worked out a way of life that fitted their country. All of these people were the ancestors of modern Indian peoples. . . . . As the huge ice sheets melted from the north, plants and animals occupied the land. Indian hunters moved into the northern forest to become the people of the snowshoe. When at last the arctic coasts became free of land-ice, the first Eskimos moved eastward from Bering Strait into what is now Canada and Greenland."
>
> (Crowe, 1974:3)

Today there are only about 80,000 Eskimos in the entire world, and Canada has fewer than 18,000 (Statistics Canada, 1973:189). Of these, 800 live in Northern Ontario, 1,000 in Labrador, 3,800 in Arctic Quebec, and the remainder, 12,400, are in communities in the Northwest Territories. The word "Eskimo" is an Algonquin Indian word meaning "eater of raw meat". Now, most Eskimos are referred to by their self-designation, "Inuit". The Eskimo language does not appear to be related to any other group of languages, although the root stock of the language appears to be common from East Cape in Siberia to east Greenland. Forde (1934:107) indicates that the variation in language over this immense distance "is only of the order of difference of that between Germanic tongues". In other words, a traveller traversing that distance would be able to understand at least some of each dialect that he heard.

Traditionally, the Eskimo culture has been viewed as one which was

based upon the hunting of sea mammals (Rowley, 1971). This would have taken place at the ice at the floe-edge, through the ice at breathing holes, or on the ice in the spring while the seals basked in the sunshine. In the short summer, these mammals were again hunted, this time from boats on the water. Originally, umiaks and kayaks were used, but more recently, whale boats and canoes have come into use. The seal provided both food and fuel; the meat was used for food, and the oil for heat and light. The skins provided many uses. In the winter, the families congregated on the shore or near the floe-edge and generally used snow houses. In the summer, the Eskimos lived in tents. In addition, Rowley (1971) notes that, at this time of the year, caribou were hunted, as were musk-oxen, and fish were speared from the rivers. The caribou were used partly for meat, and partly to supply skins for the light, yet warm, winter clothing. Dogteams and sledges provided a means of travel for hunting across the sea-ice and the snow covered land. In the summer, the dogs were used to pack supplies inland after the caribou herds.

The Eskimo groups of the Canadian eastern Arctic, those with which this study is concerned, are those inhabiting Baffin Island (the Southern Baffin Island Eskimos), Northern Foxe Basin (the Iglulik Eskimos), and a portion of the Netsilik Eskimos to the west of Melville Peninsula. It is important to note at this point that the Eskimos do not have tribes, in the sense that they are politically or territorially defined. Rather, they are identified, and they identify themselves, by family units by the location where they are usually to be found. Hence, the Iglulik (or Igloolik) Eskimos are the "Iglulingmiut" (-miut = the people of); the Netsilik Eskimos are the Netchillirmiut (netsilik = seal); and the people of

southern Foxe Basin have the name of "Aivillirmiut" (aivilik = walrus). Boas (1888) breaks the Baffin Island Eskimo group down into several different units: the Nugumiut (around Frobisher Bay), the Oqomiut (along Cumberland Sound), the Sikosuilarmiut, the Akuliarmiut, the Qaumauangmiut, and so on. While these fine distinctions are most pertinent to a proper understanding, from an historic perspective, of the cultural organization of the Canadian Eskimo, they are far more detailed than is required by the main thrust of this study. On one final note from Boas (1888:52), he refers to the native people of Ellesmere Island (Umingman Nuna = the land of the musk-ox). Ellesmere Island has been traditionally uninhabited for the past century. Those Eskimos currently residing in settlements such as Grise Fiord are originally from Arctic Quebec and from northern Baffin Island. They were relocated on Ellesmere Island at their own request in the early 1950's when Grise Fiord was first established. It is possible that the Eskimos that Boas is referring to were simply migrating to or from Greenland at that time. Those readers interested in further detail on the ethnic structure of the eastern Arctic Eskimo groups are referred to Boas, 1888; Graburn and Strong, 1973; Crowe, 1974; Jenness, 1964.

The Eskimo had several units of social organization, according to Graburn and Strong (1973:152). The basic unit was the household, which comprised the nuclear family and often extended to include the grandparents, newly married children, their offspring, and sometimes even more distant relatives who may have had no family of their own. The next level unit was the summer camp. This would have ranged in size from simply a single extended family, to a camp which comprised several families

together, to one which included all of the members of the main winter camp. The third unit of organization was the main winter or semi-permanent camp. This was the largest unit of social organization and, Graburn and Strong (1973:153) note, could have "comprised sixty to three hundred people who were probably related to each other through bilateral kinship reckoning". Two types of leaders existed within this organization; the de facto camp leader who, by virtue of his experience and seniority, was in a position to offer advice to the other families; and the shaman or "angakuk". The shaman, by virtue of his "control" over the supernatural forces, was able to exercise a certain degree of leadership within the village. Often, the camp leader would be a charismatic person. In instances where the camp leader and the shaman were one and the same person, he was able to exercise real political power within the group. It might be stressed that these comments pertain primarily to the eastern Arctic Eskimo. For a more detailed examination of Eskimo social structure, the reader is referred to the references cited above.

The Resources.

Traditionally, the land and the seas adjoining have provided a vast resource for the Eskimo people. Polar Bear, whale, walrus, seal, musk-ox, caribou had always been relatively plentiful. Now, however, increased native numbers, beyond that which the land has traditionally supported, and increased incursion from southern North America and from the rest of the world, have all seriously depleted the wildlife as a continuing resource. The Eskimo is increasingly forced to turn elsewhere for his livelihood.

The Arctic is a land of rich resources that are only now becoming economically exploitable. The world's energy shortage has led southern petroleum companies to increase their northern explorations and to research the possibility of northern oil and gas being transhipped to southern Canada through massive pipelines. Panarctic Oils Limited, a consortium of oil and gas companies formed in 1967, of which the Canadian government holds the single largest block with 45 per cent of the shares, has made extensive gas finds in the Arctic Islands. Furthermore, oil has been brought to the surface at at least one site on Ellesmere Island.

In the Arctic Archipelago, outcrops of copper have been discovered on Victoria Island; chromium on Melville Peninsula; platinum, pyrite, nickel, cobalt, magnetite, and native silver on northern Baffin Island. The Strathcona Sound development, which has only recently come into the news, is centered on a rich but small zinc-lead ore body (14 per cent zinc and 1.4 per cent lead) (CARC, 1975). This ore body will have a very great impact upon the community of Arctic Bay. This will be discussed at greater length below. Finally, the Mary River iron ore deposit, a very high grade (68 per cent) body south of Milne Inlet on northern Baffin Island, is still not considered economically feasible. At such time as that deposit is worked, the ramifications for the community of Pond Inlet will be very great.

Development.

Development in that part of the Canadian North known as the Eastern Arctic has been a somewhat recent phenomenon. Until the present century,

this vast area of archipelago has been inhabited only by groups of Inuit exhibiting the characteristics of a Stone Age culture and a subsistence economy (Baird, 1964:194). Contacts between these groups and non-Inuits probably began as long as four hundred years ago with the incursion of explorers' and traders' ships. Graburn and Strong (1973:191) identify this period as a first, "modified-traditional" stage of contact. With this phase, the traditional Inuit lifestyle was temporarily modified through the introduction of various trade goods. Little permanent change was effected with the exception of an improvement in the technology. This occurred through such items as metal harpoon heads, metal knives, or needles (Graburn and Strong: 1973:192). A secondary change to the culture came through the unwitting introduction of "southern" diseases. Epidemics of influenza, pneumonia, whooping cough, measles and the like would have led to temporary population declines in some localized areas.

Graburn and Strong identify a second stage of acculturation in the fundamental change brought about through the introduction of extensive fox trapping. This did not occur to any great extent until the beginning of the present century. During the first three hundred years of intermittent contact, trading posts had been very much limited to the southern end of Hudson Bay, for trade with the Indians, and to the Labrador coast in association with the Moravian missions. In addition, the south end of Baffin Island had seen posts associated with whaling (Hughes, 1965; Graburn and Strong, 1973; Crowe, 1974).

Beginning with the first three decades of the twentieth century, however, the white Arctic fox fur attained great European and North American popularity; and white commercial interests became highly important in the economic life of the north. Trapping of the Arctic fox became the axis around which Inuit life revolved, and the economy abruptly shifted from subsistence production to exchange production.

> "The fur trade thus wrought a revolution in the lives of the Eskimos. In Canada it destroyed their economic independence, bound them hand and foot to a single commercial company whose shareholders expected quarterly dividends, whatever the state of the world's markets. . . As far as I could judge from my own experience, both the Hudson's Bay Company officially and its individual traders genuinely sought the welfare of their Eskimo clients; but they were forced to operate in a competitive world, and the Eskimos inevitably suffered."
>
> Jenness, 1954:29-30.

Thus, it came about that the Inuit were forced into a pattern dictated by Euro-Canadian economic wants. The introduction of the rifle changed the approach to sealing and to caribou hunting. Long distance kills became possible without the necessity of a patient and long-drawn out stalking of the animal as had been required previously with the lance or bow and arrow. This new pattern of hunting gave more assurance of success, but it also led to an increased slaughter of game (Hughes, 1965). It also enhanced the autonomy of the individual hunter-trapper, obviating the necessity of corporate effort and the former functional dependence upon co-operative activities. The Inuit began to deal with the trading posts as individuals rather than as members of groups (Hughes, 1965:16-17).

As an inducement to enter into the consumer economy the trading companies therefore introduced credit extension to the Inuit. Under this system, the individual was "grubstaked" in the fall with traps, guns, ammunition, and so on. He would then trap inland and along the coast over the fall, winter and early spring and bring the valuable furs to the trader in the spring to pay off his debt. Graburn and Strong (1973:192-193) have identified several striking consequences which occurred for the Inuit at this stage. Firstly, the Inuit found themselves involved in a "credit" system with a livelihood which depended upon outside market fluctuations. Secondly, the traditional annual cycle of movement (see pages 31-32 above) "was disrupted by a new emphasis on inland exploitation in the winter and coastal exploitation during the summer". Thirdly, annual congregation at the trading post started a trend for "settlement living". This was enhanced by the possibility of local wage labour or handouts. Hughes (1965:18) has added that a new economic system within the group grew directly from this stage:

> ". . . the returns from the activity [the fur-trapping] were usually not subject to the elaborate rules of sharing that were applied to game procured through group effort. The money or store goods obtained for fox pelts were distributed among the nuclear or extended family but not the entire group, depending on local patterns."

Within this century, soon after the trading posts had been established, other Euro-Canadian agencies followed. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police came to the North with the dual purpose of "keeping order" and maintaining national sovereignty. This latter function

was important to the federal government at a time when Canadian claims to her far northern territory were being questioned, notably by Norway and by Denmark (Graburn and Strong, 1973:193; Smith, 1966:208-209). The R.C.M.P. soon increased their duties to include census-taking and the maintenance of demographic records, as well as the disbursement of relief (Graburn and Strong, 1973:193; Hughes, 1965:22; Baird, 1964:194). Graburn and Strong also refer to the Anglican Church " [which] moved north from their work with the Cree Indians to convert the Eskimos to Christianity and introduce literacy in the form of syllabics" (p. 193).

With the Depression the price of fox pelts fell dramatically and the livelihood of the Inuit was seriously threatened. Diminished credit and an irreversible dependence on imported goods were severely felt. With 1939 came the Second World War, and the end of an era for the Inuit. They understood nothing of the nature of the war, or its meaning, and yet a global conflict could not leave them untouched. Jenness (1964:72) sums up their position with:

> "In many regions of the Arctic, indeed, they [the Inuit] remained what they had become during the preceding quarter-century - small, isolated groups of Canadian citizens who could no longer maintain their economic independence, despite their desperate struggle to support themselves, but relied for their very survival on the charity of the Canadian government and the goodwill of the Canadian taxpayer."

Then, when the war situation demanded that fighter aircraft be transferred from North America to Britain more quickly and more safely than was

possible by ship, the effects of the war moved north. The "Crimson Air Staging Route" came into existence and involved Churchill, in Manitoba; Fort Chimo, in Arctic Quebec; Frobisher Bay, on Baffin Island; Goose Bay, in Labrador; and Coral Harbour, on Southampton Island. This program saw units of the United States Army and Air Force levelling the ground and constructing airfields at each of the sites above:

> "An army of a thousand United States workmen debarked with bull-dozers and lumber near the mouth of the Koksoak River, erected a temporary town on its west bank opposite the lonely trading post of Fort Chimo, and built there an elaborate air-base, which was guarded by United States soldiers until 1949, when it reverted to the Royal Canadian Air Force, and from that body to the federal Department of Transport. A parallel invasion simultaneously disturbed the tranquility of the Southampton Island Eskimos; and still another agitated the ten-score natives who frequented the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post at Ward Inlet in Frobisher Bay."
>
> Jenness, 1964:73

> "Thereafter dozens of ships steamed northward each summer to supply the new air-bases with food, fuel, and other necessities; and radio and meteorological stations sprang up to speed the military planes from one staging post to another."
>
> Jenness, 1964:72

At this point in time the "invasions" had only affected the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic. It was the post-war years which pushed the "invasion" westward.

Some of the Inuit from these sites were able to find wage employ-

ment on or near the new bases; the distance between these people and their traditional lifestyles was further widened. In addition, the possibility of wage employment and the material benefits to be gained from these bases prompted a larger influx of Inuit from outlying camps (Jenness, 1964:74).

Finally, the war effort in the North focused the eyes of North America, and indeed the world, upon the Canadian Arctic. In many instances, returning soldiers and airmen brought back first-hand descriptions of the Inuit settlements they had visited. Their stories were not flattering to the federal administrators, and Ottawa began to take notice. Many questions regarding health, education, housing and economy were asked and formal programs were drawn up. Serious development with the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic was to take place at last (Jenness, 1964:76).

The "Cold War" succeeded the Second World War, and the Inuit found himself plunged even further into contact with twentieth century values and technology.

Chapter III

Community Development

A Theoretical Framework

> "The term 'community development' has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress."
>
> United Nations, 1971.

> "The government has to accept the fact that there has to be planning for people to help them accommodate change. In British Columbia, I spent seven years directing a process which, in those days, was called community development. With the program, people moved into villages and communities and lived there for some time. The process of social action and community development was started. It is a political process. It is a process of helping people to achieve the awareness that change is coming and that they can do something about coping with it. I think that kind of involvement has to go hand-in-hand with resource development."
>
> Glover, 1974:37*

What is Community Development?

If there is one thing which seems abundantly clear about the concept of community development, it is that it has been used, and misused, extensively during the past three decades. For each writer involved in community development there appears to be a different definition for the term; and in some cases writers have forsaken a

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* Taken from a conference/workshop on the theme of "building in Northern Communities" held in Inuvik, N.W.T., February 10-15, 1974. These thoughts were expressed by a participant from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. The emphasis is my own.

definition in favour of a statement of the nature of the work, or a description of its basic characteristics. At this point it would be helpful to examine some of these definitions, statements, and descriptions, and to attempt to determine which description, if any, will best suit the purposes of this study.

Community Development as a Process

Brokensha and Hodge (1969:1-2) indicate that:

> The broad spectrum of attitudes toward community development is indicated by statements about it, some expressing unqualified praise, others having serious reservations. Much of the writing on this subject is extraordinarily pedestrian or vague; solemn truisms and pompous banalities abound, as minds more marked by sincerity than by rigorous discipline attempt to clarify some ineffable experience.

For example, Batten (1957), in his now classic work, Communities and Their Development, states:

> . . . community development [is] a process of increasing people's satisfactions by helping them to satisfy their existing wants, or to learn new wants and ways of satisfying them, or to make more satisfying choices from a widening range of possible alternatives.
>
> Batten, 1957:229

The effect of this process, he continues:

> . . . is to free people from the traditional restraints and limitations of small community life and to give them a new freedom of choice over a widening range of choices.
>
> Batten, 1957:229

Batten emphasizes community development as a process or a course of action involving people and their ability to examine their own lifestyle, in light of their needs and wants, and to make choices more satisfying to them, based upon those needs and wants. Above all else, T.R. Batten is a training officer (Batten, 1962). In reference to his concept of community development, therefore, he suggests three general aims which, to his mind, underlie all types of training in community development;

> (i) to give a content of knowledge which the trainee is expected to transmit to the communities in which he works;
> (ii) to teach methods of transmitting this knowledge, encouraging local initiative, and organizing community groups for study and action; and
> (iii) to raise the worker's morale and instil in him a sense of mission for community work.
>
> Batten, 1957:191

Batten is reasonably pragmatic and practical in his approach to community development; whereas Biddle and Biddle (1965) tend more toward vague philosophies and obscurity in their approach. They describe community development as "whatever sense of the local common good citizens can be helped to achieve." (Biddle and Biddle, 1965:77) They continue:

> . . . community development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world. It is a group method for expediting personality growth, which can occur when geographic neighbours work together to serve their growing concept of the good of all.
>
> Biddle and Biddle, 1965:78

Richard Poston (1962) describes community development as "a powerful force . . . to help millions of people translate their democratic ideals into democratic action, to build a world environment for peace and happiness." (Poston, 1962:194) Poston, an American, gives this definition in the best American "saviour" tradition.

B. Mukherji (1961), a community development scholar from India, emphasizes faith as the key to the community development process. He states that there must be "faith that the villagers [in this case, Indian villagers] . . . . know what their needs are and have the desire to satisfy them . . . that much desire can be stimulated in them." (Mukherji, 1961:4). This process would require an intensive training in the skills of working with people at a personal as well as at a group level. J.D. Mezirow, in his article "Community Development as an Educational Process," looks upon the community development process as:

> . . . in essence, a planned and organized effort to assist individuals to acquire the attitudes, skills and concepts required for their democratic participation in the effective solution of as wide a range of community improvement problems as possible in an order of priority determined by their increasing levels of competence.
>
> Mezirow, 1961:16

In the above discussion, the term "process" is used in almost every definition. Upon closer examination, it should be noted that this term has taken on two or more quite different connotations. Batten and Poston use the term to refer to a procedure which is set up by one person, usually the community development worker, and to which other persons,

the community, are expected to conform. On the other hand, Biddle and Biddle take the time to establish clearly in the mind of the reader what they mean when they use that term; they are referring to a procedure undertaken by the community itself. They explain that process, to them, does not consist of any fixed succession of events. Rather, it is growth which occurs within the group or the individual, and as such, is reflected in the community.

> As we shall use the word, process refers to a progression of events that is planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively choose. The events point to changes in a group and in individuals that can be termed growth in social sensitivity and competence.
>
> Biddle and Biddle, 1965:79

On the one hand Batten is using community development in an impositional sense. The solution is imposed from without, dictatorially or otherwise, and the community is led toward the solution and toward its "improvement." This is, perhaps, the pragmatic approach. This is also the approach which is most commonly applied to northern development in Canada.

At the other end of the process spectrum from Batten, Biddle and Biddle (1965) forsake outside imposition and regard process as an inherent progression, self-developing within the community group. "Even if it has been initiated by a paid encourager, it has not genuinely started until the participants themselves begin to assume the responsibility to direct and keep it going." (Biddle and Biddle, 1965:79-80)

This is, perhaps, the idealistic approach. Taking a more moderate stance, Mezirow talks of a trained individual, a community development worker, who would be able to work with the community to assist them in the acquisition of knowledge, the skills, and attitudes necessary to the establishment of this self-development process, (Mezirow, 1961:16). This can be regarded as the educational approach, and as such, seems to be an essential adjunct to the concept of northern development.

Not all writers have expressed themselves in favour of community development, or at least in favour of the extant process of community development. Charles Erasmus, writing in Human Organization (1968), has levelled some bitter criticism at, not what community development is, but at what it has not done. Community development, points out Erasmus, is "used as a pacifier in the hopes of avoiding disagreeable agitation." (1968:73) Further, he states that "many self-help objectives of Community Development would best fit in a Paleolithic context" (1968:66). This last is in reference to the promotion by most governments of the household economy. In this regard, Brokensha agrees with Erasmus, and adds that "the encouragement of a return to the household economy is anachronistic." (Erasmus, 1968:77) In this same context, William Biddle, writing in the Community Development Bulletin (1964), has included a veiled warning to agencies and governments about programs and program assistance:

> Community development is a social methodology which has come to prominence (became [sic.] a fad in the hands of some people who do not understand it) since the end of the last war. It

> stresses the encouragement of initiative in people to help themselves, utilizing the cooperation of many professional people, agencies, resources.
> Two kinds of skill are necessary:
> --- In an encourager, to urge people (even apathetic ones) to learn how to discover their own initiative.
> --- In agencies, to restrain themselves from helping people until their aid will strengthen people's responsibility to contribute to their own problem-solving.
>
> Biddle, 1964:1

Biddle is giving a warning against the imposition of programs within a community by agencies or governments before there has been a concerted and successful effort to educate the inhabitants in the attitudes and skills outlined by Mezirow above. In other words, Biddle is differentiating between that which he might term "community development as process" and that which might be called "community development as program." Biddle is very clear in his idea that a community development program is very much goal-oriented or task-oriented, and tends, by its very nature, to be directed from without. On the other hand, a true community development process should be people-oriented, dealing with local initiative, toward the future recognition of, and attention to, tasks. Clearly, then, Biddle argues that a community development process must precede a community development program.

Community Development as a Program

To differentiate further between community development as a process and community development as a program, one might use an example where the program or the project definitely appears to take precedence over the process. In this case, one can examine the Construction and Community

Development Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. In its major publication, Case Studies in Community Development, it uses the program approach. The loose leaf publication, which is undated, contains ninety-one case studies, divided into seven major topics. The topics obviously reflect the major interest areas of the United States Chamber of Commerce: Category A. Adjustment to Local and Natural Resources; Category B. Industrial Development Section; Category C. Commercial Development Section; Category D. Comprehensive Planning Section; Category E. Housing Section; Category F. Urban Renewal Section; Category G. Local Government Section. The Chamber's interest areas would be: local and natural resources, industry, commerce, city planning, real estate, municipal government. Each of these is explored in a series of case studies and a brief look will be taken at two of them.

Category A - Adjustment to Local and Natural Resources;

Case Study Area No. A11 - Communications;

The persons who formed the study committee examined the field of communications in Amarillo, Texas and made recommendations for courses of action and for implementation in an effort to ensure the "adequate and free communication which is essential to a free people" (p. 107). They examined the four areas of telephone service, telegraph service, newspapers, and radio and television and made identical recommendations for courses of action and for implementation in each case. They were: "courses of action - none required," and "implementation - none required." (United States Chamber of Commerce, n.d.:107-110)

Category C - Commercial Development Section:

Case Study Area No. C3 - Suburban Shopping Centres:

The persons who formed the study committee examined the area of "Suburban Shopping Centers" within the Greater Erie, Pennsylvania area. They noted that shopping centers were becoming a permanent and expanding part of commercial development. They further noted that some neighbourhoods in Erie were becoming threatened by commercial incursion. On this basis, the following courses of action and implementations were recommended:

"Courses of Action -

Wherever profitable opportunities appear, commercial facilities will be provided. No community action is required to stimulate the provision of such facilities in Erie.

What is needed is some comprehensive planning control over the location of commercial facilities. Properly planned, these facilities can contribute to the creation of property values in Erie and to the strengthening of neighbourhoods. Without adequate planning, such commercial developments can be harmful to certain parts of the community.

"Implementation -

The basis for planning control over development of commercial facilities now exists. Zoning regulations have been developed and are available for use. The fact that they are not enforced in Erie is largely due to a lack of citizen understanding and support. People generally must be helped to appreciate the place and importance of planning controls and to insist that such controls be established and maintained."

(U.S. Chamber of Commerce, n.d.: 191-193)

Clearly, in these studies as well as in the whole approach of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, process is

purely an after-the-fact consideration; and, what has been pictured is wholely a task-oriented procedure. But, to whose task is this procedure oriented: the individual citizen's, the community's, or the commercial structure's? It appears very much to be oriented toward the interests of the last. Considering that the group in the first study were examining Amarillo for the provision of "adequate and free communications," one must assume from their recommendations that the citizens of Amarillo, without exception, have total and free access to all of the forms of communications that they could desire. It is highly unlikely that this is the case. Secondly, one avowed purpose of the second case study was to examine the threat of suburban shopping centers to neighbourhoods within Erie. And yet, the first course of action stated, "wherever profitable opportunities appear, commercial facilities will be provided. No community action is required to stimulate the provision of such facilities in Erie." (n.d.: 191). The purpose which is implied in this course of action, and that which is stated above are very different from one another. They reflect different priorities and different interest areas: neighbourhood interests versus commercial interests.

Finally, the question can be asked, "what about the citizen?" In neither of the cases cited above was there a citizen on the committee simply as a representative of the community. Nor was there in any of the other case studies examined from this book. In each case, the committee member was an executive or an official representing a commercial enterprise. Obviously, a vested interest was evident. Where, then, does citizen participation enter the process of community development

in the mind of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America? The answer to that question lies in the thirteen sequential steps in the creation of a program of work for community development. They are:

Step 1. Organize the study course
Step 2. Plan the succeeding steps
Step 3. Make basic assumptions about the future of the community
Step 4. Select the priorities committee
Step 5. Hold the first City-wide Meeting
Step 6. Identify areas to be studied
Step 7. Select qualified persons to help analyze problems
Step 8. Standardize the procedure for analyzing each problem
Step 9. ORGANIZE THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION PROCESS (emphasis is mine)
Step 10. Prepare the report of the priorities committee
Step 11. Consideration by citizens' organizations
Step 12. Complete the program of work
Step 13. Give leadership for continuing problem-solving action

(U.S. Chamber of Commerce, n.d.:15)

The citizen participation process enters at Step 9. out of thirteen sequential steps. The Chamber attempts to rationalize its stand in not permitting the democratic process to appear earlier:

> Many persons . . . will insist that a more democratic procedure should be followed and citizens generally should be invited to make suggestions about case study areas which should be investigated.
>
> On the basis of actual experience with the modification of the recommended procedure, two possible difficulties seem to be inherent in relying entirely on the suggestion of citizens.
>
> In the first place, relying on democratic suggestions frequently results in overemphasis on problems about which

> people are already concerned and little or no emphasis on other basically significant problems about which people have less awareness.
>
> Secondly, experience indicates that the people who make suggestions usually have a personal interest in them and may become resentful if their pet project fails to make the high priority list. Such persons may lose interest in the program and lessen the cooperation that otherwise would be extended by organizations with which they are affiliated. This can be very harmful.
>
> (U.S. Chamber of Commerce, n.d.:15-16)

It is not our intention to place judgements on the actions, or the inactions, of any group working with community development. Suffice it to say that this is another way that community development has been regarded recently.

Perhaps as the complete antithesis of the orientation of the United States Chamber of Commerce, one might briefly observe the views held by the Department of Education of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. To them, community development is:

> . . . an educational process. It is this first, last and all the time - all else is secondary to it and must take its place as a reflection, not as an end result. Community development is not better roads, better beehives, pure water nor sanitary privies. It is something of the spirit, not something material. It must reach into the deep cultural patterns of people, examining them and testing them as principles of faith. It is not a temporary, physical construction. It is a building within the hearts and minds of men, not a recreation centre in the middle of a playfield. It is these things because without them it matters relatively little whether the road is paved or not, whether you go to the woods or to the sanitary privy, whether economically you

> and your community are materially blessed. It is these things because with them, all physical solutions follow and in their proper order.
>
> (Wale and Isales, 1967:1)

This is very strongly a people and a process orientation, bordering almost on mystic faith.

The Community Development Spectrum

In summary, the authors have portrayed several very different views on community development. The United States Chamber of Commerce has demonstrated a high degree of program or task orientation, placing the goal and the end result over the process of helping people work with themselves towards that goal. The Chamber is by no means unique in this regard. Indeed, many governments and governmental agencies around the world take this approach to development, desiring for their own reasons to demonstrate immediate and concrete results. This method of community development may be no less valid for all that. Placing community development on a spectrum, the program approach would occupy one end.

Figure 1 - The Community Development Spectrum.

PROGRAM APPROACH

U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Many national governments and agencies

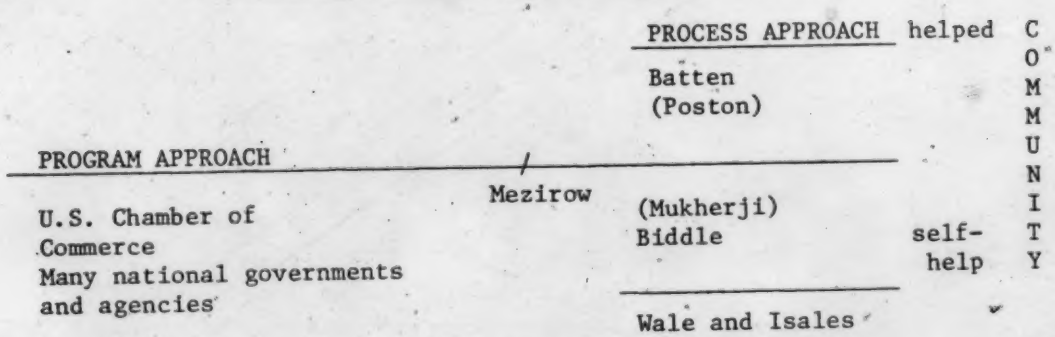
At the other end is what was termed the process approach. Wale and Isales (1967:1) probably occupy the extreme position on that end.

Figure 1 - The Community Development Spectrum (cont'd.)

PROGRAM APPROACH	PROCESS APPROACH
U.S. Chamber of Commerce Many national governments and agencies	Puerto Rico Dept. of Education - (Wale and Isales)

But, the community development spectrum cannot be uni-dimensional; it must be two-way. This comes from the efforts of Biddle and Batten to separate the process into two components: one process involving the instilment of community development within the community from without; while the other involves the instilment from within the community itself.

Figure 1 - The Community Development Spectrum (cont'd.)



Note that Mezirow has been placed on the intermediate process line. He represents a mid-point position between the assisted, and the total self-help, stances of Batten and Wale-Isales respectively. It should also be noted that this spectrum is dynamic, not static, and that over time, author's concepts will shift position. For example, note that Biddle and Biddle (1965) make allowances for an external encourager in the community, before the process becomes self-sustaining. This would allow for movement at the process end, from top to bottom.

Community Development in Canada

Moving more specifically into Canada, the themes of community development have been set down in similar words. The Canadian Welfare Council, in their 1970 report Housing and People, stated:

> [Community development is] a process aimed at promoting citizen participation in social affairs, developing people's awareness of problems, enabling them to define

> their needs in relation to the total environment, making possible their enlightened choice among various options and channelling the results into effective action for social change.
>
> 1970:17

This is basically a problem-solving approach, not as task oriented as some of those portrayed above, but it would hold an intermediate position on the community development spectrum above. Jean Lagasse, a founder of community development among Indian people in Manitoba, prefers to view community development as a set of premises, four of which are given below:

a) All persons or groups, no matter how unambitious they may appear on first encounter, have a strong desire to better their condition.

b) If they have not been able to noticeably improve their condition, it is because the difficulties which they would have to overcome to achieve this are bigger than the skills and resources at their disposal.

c) All persons or groups will take advantage of opportunities of improving their condition once it becomes evident to them that the skills and resources at their disposal are sufficient to enable them to improve their lot and they are allowed to do so on their own terms.

d) In order to create conditions conducive to c) above, it is often necessary to influence several spheres of personal and community activities at once. Lack of change in one sphere could prevent changes from occurring elsewhere.
Likewise, once a change has occurred in one sphere, changes in other spheres may be required.

1962:1

On the basis of these four basic premises, Lagasse states:

> Community Development as a process refers to the sequences or phases through which a community (or its segments) go [sic.] as they [sic.] move from one condition to the next. The emphasis of Community Development seen as a process is upon what happens to people physically, socially and psychologically . . . .
>
> 1962:1

The Government of Manitoba, Department of Health and Social Development, looks upon the purpose of community development as:

> To assist people to develop economically and socially viable communities which can strengthen and support adequately individual and family growth and enhance the quality of life.
>
> 1970:2

This is a simple approach, with the emphasis on competent, viable communities, and those only insofar as they enhance the quality of life of their individual constituents and their families.

Finally, the Honourable John Munro, then Minister of National

Health and Welfare, in a speech before the Winnipeg Canadian Welfare Planning Council in 1969, clearly articulated the distinct phases of the community development process:

> More recently, we have begun to move in the direction of seeing the development of communities as a two-phase process. The first phase is the process of community animation, motivating the poor to organize and work toward the indentification of their own needs, the establishment of their own institutions to meet these needs and the development of a sense of community and capacity for collective strength in place of individual alienation and resignation. Some of these experiments, although modest, have produced rather startling results. Clearly there is within the culture of the poor and the alienated minorities a tremendous latent potential and capacity for self-improvement and self-betterment.

> Phase one begins with a group of alienated individuals, resigned to impotence, with no sense of capacity to relate to the larger society or win for themselves a place in it. Grievances are suffered. The belief that by their act they can set in motion events which will lead to the correction of these grievances is absent. Phase one ends with a sense of community, an awareness that the grievances are shared and that in the collectivity there is the capacity to demand that these be corrected.

> It is phase two of this process that confronts us with the far greater challenge. If we meet the articulation by this community of its grievances and aspirations with a stone wall of either opposition or apathy, we will either destroy it or transform it into an army determined to destroy us. If community development is to be a reality and not a mere sham, then we must be prepared to mobilize the necessary resources - (including a willingness to share some of our own power) - to meet the legitimate demands of the new community. (the emphasis is mine)
>
> Munro, 1969:5-6

The United Nations Definition

This chapter has examined a sampling of definitions and descriptions of the term "community development," and it has been shown to be very complex in its nature. The reader will find that he can readily identify with one definition or another; and in a similar manner, so will this study. As was mentioned above, some of the elements of several different descriptions will be used, and this will help to provide the foundation upon which this thesis will act. Some of those elements which have already been noted above are: (i) Batten's use of a training component (what was termed the 'pragmatic approach;' (ii) Mezirow's 'educational approach;' and (iii) Munro's discussion of the two phases of the community development process. These three are readily compatible, and fit well within the description of community development which will be used in this thesis - namely - the United Nations' definition:

> Community Development is the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.
>
> United Nations, 1971:6

In the first instance, community development is regarded as a process, implying a transition from one phase to another.

> This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements: the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help to make these more effective . . . .
>
> United Nations, 1971:6

In applying this definition, or model since this definition is being expanded into a structuralized form, to the area of northern development, one becomes cognizant of a necessary element. In Chapter II it was evident that the Inuit had only a minimum economic base upon which to build their community. This was the case until the end of World War II, and the situation has not significantly altered since then. From this, it will become further evident in ensuing chapters that a high degree of outside assistance is required for them to follow a community development process. For several reasons, not the least of which being that the democratic process has not been native to their lifestyle (see Vallee, 1967:202; Graburn and Strong, 1973: 152-153), the community development process would have to be introduced from without. Further, "the provision of technical and other services" has had to be, and will continue to be, enormous. The government is the only agency with resources sufficient to provide for those services. In other words, the northern situation closely follows the elements of the United Nations' definition. The Inuit have been recently, and yet greatly, confronted by the twentieth century, and are very much in need of technical assistance and cultural understanding in meeting this change. The community development process is, theoretically, the only process which

will best meet the needs of the Inuit, as well as the needs of southern Canada in respect of the North. From the United Nations' definition, community development should provide for a union between the efforts of the people of the North, and the efforts of the government, such that mutual benefits will accrue. In this process, the government would work with the North, to the benefit of the North; and the North would work with the government, to the benefit of the nation as a whole. In the words of the United Nations, words which fit well within the northern context:

> These programmes are usually concerned with local communities, because of the fact that the people living in a locality have many and varied interests in common. Some of these interests are expressed through function groups organized to further a more limited range of interests not primarily determined by locality.
>
> United Nations, 1971:6

and

> If participation of the people is to make a significant contribution to social and economic development throughout a country or territory, it should be undertaken within the framework of a national plan covering a large number of the smaller communities . . . .
>
> United Nations, 1971:6

In the northern setting, that is, in the eastern Arctic, there are

two prime function groups: the Community Council and the Eskimo Co-operative. The Co-operative is an economic institution and, as such, still suffers a high degree of control from external influences. On the other hand, the Community Council contains the decision-making structure for all other functions within the community. Two of these functions, housing and education, will be examined in considerable detail below.

In a vein similar to Mezirow, the United Nations' approach emphasizes popular participation and the direct involvement of the community in the process of community development.

> In relation to the people, community development is essentially both an educational and organizational process.
>
> It is educational because it is concerned with changing such attitudes and practices as are obstacles to social and economic improvements, engendering particular attitudes which are conducive to these improvements and, more generally, promoting a greater receptivity to change. This implies developing the capacity of the people to form judgements on the effects of activities to determine the goals to be arrived at, to adopt technical changes brought about by outside forces . . . .
>
> It is organizational not only because people acting together are better able to pursue the interest which they have in common, but also because it requires the reorientation of existing institutions or the creation of new types of institutions to make self-help fully effective and to provide the necessary channels for governmental services.
>
> United Nations, 1971:6-7

Education and housing, as agencies for change among the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic, fit very closely within the terms of the two processes outlined above. In relation to methodology:

> If the full benefits of better education and improved organization are to be realized, two conditions are necessary. First, the felt needs of the people should be taken into consideration . . . The first duty of those responsible for community development programmes is to identify the felt needs of the people. They should also assist the people in making better judgements for themselves on what their needs are and how to satisfy them. Finally, they should be able to identify needs not yet perceived and make the people conscious of them and aware of the importance of satisfying them. It should be recognized, however, that it may be practicable to satisy some local needs or that they may be inconsistent with government policy for the economic and social development of the nation . . . .
>
> United Nations, 1971:7

Finally, northern development necessitates an integrated approach in which all agencies, together with the local population, make a unified effort towards a common goal.

> The very concept of community development elaborated above demands the use of the knowledge and skills of all the relevant national services in an integrated rather than an isolated or fragmentary way. To serve the ultimate objective of a fuller and better life for individuals within the family and the community, the technical services must be conceived in a manner which recognizes the indivisibility of the welfare of the individual.
>
> United Nations, 1971:7

Approaches to Community Development

Within the community development framework laid down above, there are several methodological approaches to community development which might be examined. No one approach is optimal, particularly in light of the complex relationsbips inherent in northern development. However, each approach may be found to have its place, predicated on the assumption that change is imminent, and that it is necessary. A brief synthesis will be made of six different approaches to community development, along with a short discussion on how applicable they may or may not be to the northern situation. The six approaches here are: the community approach; the special-purpose, problem-solving approach; the information self-help approach; the demonstration approach; the experimental approach; and the power-conflict approach.

8

1. The Community Approach. (Cary, 1973:9-23)

Lee Cary stresses three distinctive features of the community approach to community development: (i) "the fullest participation of citizens in determining and solving their own problems through democratic procedures and indigenous leadership;" (ii) "the focus is on unit-loyalty, collective identity and place" - that is - the concept of community is paramount; (iii) "the holistic nature of the concern" (Cary, 1973:9-10). On the long-term basis, over time, this approach offers much for the Eastern Arctic. The community council approach to local government is now a reality in northern settlements with an elected council and a committee structure. Therefore, the democratic process, while still out of cultural context for the Inuit, is still not unknown; and experience has shown that

they can now be quite comfortable with it. The traditional Inuit focus on the community has always been place-oriented, and they identify very strongly with their group.

The holistic approach is essential to northern development, given that the basic fundamental problem revolves around culture change. Since this change, of necessity, touches every aspect of settlement life, only a development approach which likewise touches every aspect of community life can be acceptable in the long-run. Cary states that "an issue or problem can best be resolved by taking into account the total life and needs of the whole community" (1973:17; the emphasis is mine), and further adds that:

> The holistic approach is essential to community development, because so many problems are complex, because the focus of a specific problem is frequently limiting, and because a particular interest may leave out much of the community.
>
> 1973:17

Finally, Cary points out that the main disadvantage of this approach to community development is that it would probably be restricted to relatively small communities (1973:21). Given that northern settlements on average, and those in the Eastern Arctic in particular, tend to be quite small by southern Canadian standards, this ceases to be a disadvantage and, in fact, becomes a decided advantage.

2. The Special-Purpose, Problem-Solving Approach. (Thomas, 1973:39-50)

Richard Thomas' approach to community development, that of special-purpose, problem-solving, is based primarily on a solution of issues, rather than on an holistic community-wide approach. As such, this approach can be viewed as short-term, generally for the solution of an immediate problem. Thomas sets down the five main steps in this method as: (i) identification of a problem; (ii) mobilization of the requisite resources; (iii) planning of the program; (iv) activation of the program; (v) evaluation of the program, (Thomas, 1973:42-43). To the extent that most communities plan on the short-run, and that most citizens are more prone to grasp individual issues rather than holistic conceptualizations, this approach is a pragmatic one. In addition, experience indicates that this method would be more favourably received by governmental agencies, since it is more conducive to immediate concrete returns.

In relation to northern development, this approach is useful in the raising of local consciousness to the extent that the settlement becomes aware of the power of its own initiative. In the words of John Munro (1969:5), in speaking of this process, "some of these experiments, although modest, have produced rather startling results," startling as much for the community as for the bureaucracy.

3. The Information Self-Help Approach. (McClusky, 1973:25-38)

Howard McClusky's approach to community development is a simple and economical process. It hinges on the proper and productive use

of information and is both educative and organizational in form. McClusky states that:

> . . . the right kind of information applied at strategic junctures in the stream of community life can make a difference in the direction and quality of living. In the language of experimental design, the application of information will be regarded as the independent variable and the improvement of community life as the dependent variable.
>
> McClusky, 1973:26

This approach can be applied to the solution of an issue, and will often result in the establishment of a program. Some of the advantages to be found in this method, apart from being financially economical, would be that it helps to develop a sense of community within the individuals involved in the process; and that it helps to develop skills for coping with the difficulties of working within community processes.

One can see where, in northern development, this approach can be applied to problem-solving for immediate results - such issues as municipal services, dog control, and so on are apt examples. In addition, the educative element of this approach will further enhance the instilment of the democratic process.

4. The Demonstration Approach. (Abshier, 1973:51-57)

Abshier describes the demonstration approach to community development as a "show and tell" type of approach, (1973:51). It involves applying a model, which has been shown experientially to be successful, to an issue or to a situation in a given community. Abshier differentiates his model from an experimental one by pointing out that the experimental approach is basically testing an idea or an hypothesis (1973:51). The main strength of the demonstration approach lies with the fact that it has already proven itself to be successful in previous situations. Therefore, it should prove itself once again in the present situation, all things being equal. This, of course, introduces the major disadvantage - that the community must be very precisely analyzed, and the various kinds of communities must be distinguished.

In relation to northern development, it must be pointed out that community development is a very new process in the North. Of necessity, the initial processes must be "experimental" in nature. A demonstration approach, in some form, could be applied at a later time, but it would require considerable "experimentation" first.

5. The Experimental Approach. (Evensen, 1973:59-72)

In the ideal sense this approach to community development would encompass all of the community development processes initiated within a community. Evensen, however, differentiates this approach from all

others by establishing a rigid experimentation framework and by indicating that it is designed to "establish or modify a truth," whereas the other community development approaches are designed to "demonstrate or prescribe truth," (1973:59). Since it is a framework and not a process per se it does allow for a high degree of operational flexibility. However, the two independent variables, people and time, especially in the North where cross-cultural barriers are imposed, would provide for a frustrating application.

6. The Power-Conflict Approach. (Salmon and Tapper, 1973:73-86)

Power conflict has always been the tool of activists. Notwithstanding the reaction of most bureaucrats to activism (in northern situations, it will be remembered, the idea is not to alienate those in positions of political authority, for those are the ones who "hold the purse strings"), this type of approach to community development does have its place. In this regard, one is mindful of the continuing situation in the Canadian Western Arctic with the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. In this "modified" power-conflict approach - "modified" in the sense that a confrontation has taken place, but it has been within the confines of the judicial system - the bureaucratic process has been forcefully halted and required to come to terms with the indigenous population. More of this type of confrontation might be expected in the future. This approach to community development requires an exact identification of the power structure within the settlement.

Typology of Participation

Je participe	I participate
Tu participes	You participate
Il participe	He, she, or it participates
Nous participons	We participate
Vous participez	You participate (plural form)
Ils profitent	They profit

This quotation from Arnstein brilliantly capsulizes the critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process. Arnstein (1971:72-3) further stresses that there are significant gradations of citizen participation. From this she has established a typology of eight different levels of participation in the planning and operating of local programs. These levels are arranged in a "ladder" depicting a chronology of implementation.

Figure 2 Eight-Rung Typology of Citizen Participation

8. Citizen Control	Degrees of Citizen Power
7. Delegated Power	
6. Partnership	
5. Placation	Degrees of Tokenism
4. Consultation	
3. Informing	
2. Therapy	Non-Participation
1. Manipulation	

The two bottom rungs on the "ladder," manipulation and therapy, describe levels of non-participation because their real objective is not to enable people to participate in the planning or operating process, but rather to enable the powerholders to "educate" the participants.

1. Manipulation: Instead of genuine citizen participation, this bottom rung signifies the prostitution of participation found when community members are placed on "rubber-stamp" advisory committees. This stage serves only the public relations desires of the powerholders.

2. Therapy: Arnstein regards this stage as both dishonest and arrogant. Rather than making the attempt to view the conditions leading up to a cry for local participation, the powerholders make the assumption that unrest is some form of "mental illness." Therefore, the people are brought together to "adjust their values and attitudes to those of the larger society" (Arnstein, 1971:76).

3. Informing: Herein lies the beginnings of local participation. However, the flow of information, all too frequently, is one-way. Community meetings often take this form.

4. Consultation: This stage can also be a legitimate step towards full participation. However, there is no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account.

5. Placation: At this level some degree of influence does begin, although it is still tokenism. For example, some community members are placed on boards or agencies for the purpose of planning or advising. Even so, the "dominants" retain the right to judge the legitimacy of the

advice.

6. Partnership: At this level a redistribution of power is finally made between the powerholders and the citizens, probably through negotiation. Responsibility for decision-making is shared, and there is no provision for unilateral change.

7. Delegated Power: At this point dominant decision-making authority on the part of the citizens assures accountability of the program to them.

8. Citizen Control: Finally, at this level, the citizens are in full charge of policy and managerial aspects of the programs and, upon a commitment of funds to a program, they can successfully resist the efforts of any outsider to change them.

Di Franco (1958) placed an emphasis on the extension process, and submitted that community development should:

1. be based on conditions that exist (local, regional, national);
2. involve people in actions that promote their welfare;
3. develop programs gradually;
4. aim basically at people's interests and needs;
5. use democratic methods;
6. keep programs flexible;
7. work through understanding of the culture;
8. use local leaders;
9. use existing agencies;
10. utilize trained specialists;

11. work with all members of the family;
12. make programs as broad as the needs of rural people;
13. evaluate continuously;
14. work with all classes of the society;
15. keep in line with national policies;
16. use the community approach;
17. help people recognize their needs; and
18. aim at economic independence or equity.

These principles are mostly self-evident, and were formulated as guidelines to assist the worker in community development practices with rural people. They were originally applied to third world situations, but are equally applicable to northern Canada.

Application of Community Development to Northern Development

The preceding has outlined in considerable detail what is meant by the term "community development" and how the process might be applied towards the improvement of a community. It has been seen that there is a great profusion of definitions in the literature, and that each definition appeared to introduce its author's bias, whether it be experimentation, demonstration, educational process, training, or whatever. Not to be left out, this writer declared his preference towards one particular definition, that embodied in the United Nations' model, and indicated that the community approach, as an approach to community development, would probably best fit within the northern setting.

With this in mind it would be relevant to briefly examine some examples of how groups and individuals have recently viewed community development and northern development, and their inter-relationships. Recently, in this case, refers to the past five or six years. In some instances, the authors have actually used the term "community development," and have made an attempt to tie themselves into a meaningful definition of the term. In other instances, simply the term "northern development" was employed. After considerable research in this area, however, the author finds that there are times when the terms are used interchangeably. However the terms be used, five publications (three authors and two groups) will be briefly examined, and their deliberations will span the six years from 1969 to 1975. The five are:

1. William C. Wonders, "Community and Regional Development in the North," Arctic Vol. 23 No. 4, December 1970, pp. 281-284. (Wonders, 1970);

2. "Community Development in the Middle North," report of a conference/seminar sponsored by the Arctic Institute of North America, held at Hanover, New Hampshire, February and March 1969. (AINA, 1969);

3. Alfred R. Zariwny, "Politics, Administration and Problems of Community Development in the Northwest Territories," in Policies of Northern Development, ed. Nils Orvik, Queen's University, 1973, pp. 86-106. (Zariwny, 1973);

4. Michael Glover, ed., "Building in Northern Communities," report on a conference-workshop organized by the Arctic Institute of North America, held at Inuvik, N.W.T., February 1974. (Glover, 1974);

5. Nils Orvik, "Toward a Theory of Northern Development: The Greenland Case," unpublished paper presented to the 1975 conference of The Canadian Political Science Association, Edmonton, June 1975, 19 pp. (Orvik, 1975).

Professor Wonders, a settlement geographer writing "Community and Regional Development in the North" in Arctic, the quarterly journal of the Arctic Institute of North America, is looking at community development through the eyes of a geographer. First, he is looking specifically, in his article, at northern Manitoba, but the implications are more widely applicable. Secondly, of major concern to geographers is the concept of regionalism. In the regional concept, the North is regarded as a spatial entity - being delineated, having content, and comprising a complex of multiple characteristics. One of these characteristics is the human factor. Regional development, therefore, constitutes the total development of the "region" (i.e. - the North), the resource development, the physical development, the human development, but this last, only as one part of regional development.

> Though regional planning in Canada to date may have been focused on development of the physical resources, the human element is being recognized increasingly as an essential ingredient.
>
> Wonders, 1970:282

Wonders links community development inextricably with northern regional development. He sees community development as being comprised of two separate phases, the "camp" phase, and the "planned community" phase (Wonders, 1970:282). It should be noted here that he is using the term "community" in the European sense. For example, the "camp" community is based primarily on resource extraction; it is ephemeral, predominantly male and European. On the other hand, the "planned community" is a more recent phenomenon. Again, it is primarily based upon a single resource, or a single industry, but it is planned in an effort to stabilize the labour force, and to achieve a higher degree of permanency in the community. In both cases the community, of which Wonders speaks, is an European model and, as such, it is imposed upon the northern landscape. The North is inherently expected to conform to that model.

Finally, Professor Wonders discusses some "fundamental community development problems," as he sees them. He identifies three: "development of a northern flavour and design; the place of the native peoples in the communities; and the overall pattern of distribution of major northern centres" (1970:283). Of these, the problem concerning the place of the native peoples in the communities is of relevance to this study. Considering that this is the only reference that is given to the indigenous

population, weight is given to the conclusion that a community is regarded as an European (or a southern Canadian) phenomenon. Basically, Wonders states that the native population is regarded as only one of the northern elements to be considered as a part of the northern community. He (the native) is moving into the settlement as a result of the destruction of the hunting, fishing, trapping, and his old way of life; and there, he is finding that education is becoming increasingly available. Vocational skills, he learns, will help him to become a part of the labour force. Wonders concludes "there is a responsibility and a challenge to include the native residents as full partners in the communities and in northern development (emphasis is mine)." (1970:283) The phrase "full partners in the communities and in northern development" is not explained, but as it stands, the phraseology is very sympathetic with the concept of community development process, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. What spoils the illusion is the sentence: "these next few years will be particularly critical ones for the northern communities as these young people seek employment and social acceptance (emphasis mine) amongst the Europeans" (Wonders, 1970:283). One wonders about a situation where a native group must attempt to seek social acceptance amongst "outsiders," and how compatible this is with "full partnership."

"Community Development in the Middle North" is the report of a conference/seminar held at Hanover, New Hampshire, on February 26, 27, 28 and March 1 and 2, 1969. This conference was sponsored by the Arctic Institute of North America, and from it grew the "Man in the North,"

Project. This project was designed to "play a central and catalytic role in the urgent task of collecting and disseminating knowledge on all aspects of human settlement in the North to interested persons in industry, government, the professions, academia, and the public at large" (AINA, 1969). "Building in Northern Communities," discussed below, is a Technical Report of the Man in the North (MIN) Project. A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada, by Keith J. Crowe (Crowe, 1974), which has been referred to previously, is also a Technical Report of that project.

The "Community Development in the Middle North" conference had no native participants, and the concept of community development used there probably reflects that fact. Indeed, the conference delegates were from the ranks of managerial, executive, and professional staff, almost exclusively. What, then, is their view of community development, and how does it relate to northern development, in their eyes? To answer that question, a brief look will be taken at Appendix B of the conference report (AINA, 1969:B-1 to B-10), which is the verbatim recording of an illustrated presentation on "The Frobisher Bay Project" given by Mr. K.W. Stairs, of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and by Mr. R.A. Fallow, of Frobisher Developments Ltd. and Edmonton.

Stairs briefly outlines the history of Frobisher Bay prior to, and through, the Second World War and up to the early 1960s. At that time, Frobisher Bay consisted of several distinct parts, as described by Stairs,

with the aid of an accompanying slide:

> Here in diagrammatic form we see various elements of the settlement. Most of the area consists of massive igneous rock with a small sand and gravel plain near the water's edge. You will see that there are two runways. The larger which is still in use is paved, the smaller unpaved one is no longer used for aircraft. At the top left hand corner lies the Upper Base [original RADAR site] which has now been abandoned apart from minor operations. Near to the airstrip parking area is the former SAC U.S.A.F. Strategic Air Command Base at present in use as the Federal Government building and about to be converted into a hostel for children attending the new High School. Adjoining the smaller strip is the former oil tank farm and camp known as West 40. The latter will be used by Frobisher Developments as a construction camp. Moving on once more we have the Lower Base, a former camp for service personnel, and now the main settlement. High on the hill we find the powerhouse and below that the hospital. Just below the hospital you will see a black star. This is Astro Hill, the site of the future town centre. Below this to the right is the small Eskimo village of Ikaluit and finally in a rather remote location to the right is the community of Apex Hill built by this Department, and near to this on the sea coast the principal commercial outlet, the Hudson's Bay Company store . . . .
>
> AINA, 1969:B-5 to B-6

Stairs points out that during the late 1950s and early '60s, the Canadian government was considering Frobisher Bay as "an administrative centre for the eastern Arctic, and also a centre for transportation, communication and education" (AINA, 1969:B-1 to B-2). The concept of the Frobisher Complex as the town centre came from that active consideration. At this point, Stairs demonstrates his concept (and through him the Federal Government's concept) of a northern community, and of northern community development.

> I will, therefore, briefly review the ground we have covered and show the steps we are taking to transform a number of dispersed service elements into a modern Canadian town. I use the word "Canadian" in preference to "Northern" because one of our objectives is to dispel the preception of the North as a vast, unfriendly, wasteland, cloaked in perpetual snow, but show that it is not fundamentally different from the rest of Canada. (emphasis mine)
>
> AINA, 1969:B-4

Given the fact that geographically, latitudinally, physically, climatically, biologically, socially, culturally, and so on, it is quite different from the rest of Canada, this is not a particularly realistic objective.

Two final comments which arose during the course of the illustrated presentation were: "note the rock ridge in the centre background Astro Hill - a fine site for an apartment!" and "We believe that when we have this completed we will have a town to be proud of, a Canadian town" (1969:B-6 to B-7). The concept of community development, then, which arises from the "Community Development in the Middle North" conference, and which, incidentally, reflected the Federal Government view at that time, is one which is almost purely physical, and ignores totally the social and cultural patterns of the Inuit people, the original inhabitants.

The three final publications are more recent, both in date and in tone. They reflect a somewhat changed attitude towards northern and community development. A.R. Zariwny's article, "Politics, Administration and Problems of Community Development in the Northwest Territories," is

printed as one of a series of papers presented to a conference under the sponsorship of the Group for International Relations at Queen's University in 1973. The main theme of the conference was "Co-operation and Conflict in Northern Development" and it presented a circumpolar perspective. The resulting conference papers cover the wide range of political and administrative development in the Canadian North, and were published under the title of Policies of Northern Development, edited by Nils Orvik (Orvik, 1973). Zariwny's article was one of those papers.

Zariwny's expertise lies in the field of local government. Beginning by expressing the United Nations' definition of community development, which he feels might serve as a basic working formula:

> The term "community development" refers to the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.
>
> Zariwny, 1973:86

he continues with:

> Community development (which was synonymous with that of local government) in the Northwest Territories was considered as a means to facilitate development in the broadest sense of the meaning, circumscribed by a liberal social theory of local

> government, and underwritten by broad Canadian national goals.
>
> Zariwny, 1973:86-87

The function of the government agents in the North, operating under these terms, was an educative one. Zariwny explains, however, that their role as political educator was severely limited by the administrative duties which were adjunct to their position. At this time all local decisions were in the hands of the government agent, the area administrator, who served with an advisory council. This advisory council was comprised of local citizens, mainly appointed by the area administrator, and whose advice he was at liberty to take or not, as he saw fit.

> The ubiquitous area administrator was somewhat successful in training the local populous, but his administrative duties had the effect of minimizing native participation in the local decision-making process by creating the presence of a strong "white" political authority.
>
> Zariwny, 1973:89-91

This was the situation prior to 1967.

Through a series of charts and descriptions, Zariwny follows the course of local government development within the settlements of the Northeast Territories to the point where, at the present time, there is a measurable degree of autonomy and local decision-making. Finally,

he follows the course of local and government administration through proposed structures, and discusses briefly where the process of political awareness might lead.

Some of these discussions will enter in more detail in the chapters below.

The Technical Report of the "Man in the North" Project, 'Building in Northern Communities' (Glover, 1974), is based upon a conference-workshop held in Inuvik, N.W.T., from February 10 to 15, 1974. Of the fifty-eight listed participants at the conference, thirty-one (54 per cent) were northern residents. The others were government officials and professionals. Some interesting discussions came from that conference, and they are included in the report. For example, Chapter one, pages 5 to 48, carries the following subsections: 1:1 Community Planning: A Meaningless Exercise?; 1:2 Community Planning and Government Administration; 1:3 Community Participation in the Planning Process; 1:4 Community Development in the North; 1:5 The Means of Cultural Survival.

The participants expressed the comment that they could see two approaches to community development in the North. One approach is to regard community development as essentially a political process, "a process of helping people to the level of awareness that changes are coming and that they can do something about coping with these changes." The other approach is to use social and economic programs for the

solution of immediate problems. This would have the added benefit of developing process and leadership skills within the local people. Finally, it was regarded that both approaches were complementary, and that ideally, they should progress simultaneously (Glover, 1974:12).

Some of the more illuminating comments from the conference were:

> There appeared to be a general feeling among the native people that, directly or indirectly, the government was imposing the pattern of future community development in the north, in particular the concept of larger communities. As a result native people feel that they have no say in the planning of the communities. They expressed the need for more participation in the planning process. Voicing their complaints to the Commissioner of the N.W.T. once a year is not enough.
>
> Glover, 1974:11

and

> "One thing that worries me a little is the idea that you can come in with all the conveniences of modern life without really changing the community. Every one of these improvements, whether it's electric power, piped water or an airstrip, causes some form of compromise in the existing way of life. In this area, there is not enough local awareness. The community may get something they think they want but they may get something else they don't."
>
> Glover, 1974:31

and

> "We had a case in northern Manitoba. There was a lot of development work scheduled in one community for the summer.

> Hydro was the company involved. One problem was that the development required the local cemetery to be moved. The Hydro people were anxious for the local people to make a decision on where their cemetery should be relocated. It was a difficult decision to make and too much for the local mayor and one of his councillors, who took off into the bush. A helicopter was sent out after them to try and get a decision made. People cannot cope with the pace of development."
>
> Glover, 1974:33

and finally,

> "Government has the impression that, if you delegate authority to the local community, somehow they are going to abuse it. They are going to goof it all up."
>
> "What people are saying is that, "We just want the same kind of authority which we've had for the last 5000 years. We don't have it now.' "
>
> Glover, 1974:35

The final paper to be looked at here, "Toward a Theory of Northern Development: the Greenland Case," by Nils Orvik, is considerably more theoretical in nature. He begins by placing a rather concise definition on the term "development" ("motion toward a goal" - 1975:3). If, he continues, there is agreement with this definition, then there are four major elements to be considered in northern Development: modernization; a modified Southern model; centralization versus decentralization; and equality and assimilation. Dependent upon the final goal to be achieved, each of these needs to be considered in detail.

Although this is a draft article, presented to the Canadian Political Science Association in June 1975, it is quite timely. To this

point, northern development has been dictated by southern concerns, government or industry, without much consideration save resource extraction and economic exploitation. It is certainly time that northern development gave the human factor prime attention.

Chapter IV

Some Aspects of Housing

> The housing program initiated by the Canadian Government is of particular interest since it is one of the most ambitious programs of its kind undertaken by any government. It can be looked upon as part of a massive effort to acculturate a people who have lived by entirely different values, into the mainstream of Canadian society.
>
> Thomas and Thompson, 1972:9

> "The government comes along and says, 'You've got poor housing; we will give you a low rental.' The guy has probably never had an education. He knows how to take care of health and education in his own way, according to his own rules. But the government has to take him away from his own responsibilities, take him away from his own surroundings, take him away from his private ownership, and take him away from his shack."
>
> Glover, 1974:53

Background

Traditionally, Inuit housing has been noted for its utility, complexity, and sense of impermanency. The Inuit way of life was dictated by the need for a constant search for food; and, it was nomadic in character. In winter, snow or "ice" houses were used; and, in summer, they lived in skin or canvas tents. On a more semi-permanent basis, sod and stone houses were constructed on the shoreline. The remnants of many of these early homes are still to be found throughout much of the Canadian Arctic; and, on the eastern side, they were still generally in use only twenty to thirty years ago.

Since World War II, however, the lifestyle, and the type of habitation dictated by it, has been radically altered. Those readers wishing to pursue more on the traditional Inuit habitation and lifestyle are referred to such authors as Boas (1888), Stefansson (1913), Forde (1934), or Graburn and Strong (1973).

The ending of the Second World War saw the beginning of the Cold War. In 1948, the Soviet Union demonstrated its first Tu-4, a long-range heavy bomber, and in 1949, it detonated its first nuclear device (Sutherland, 1966;264-265). To offset the possibility of a polar attack on continental North America, a chain of radar (radio detection and ranging) stations were constructed, forming an electromagnetic net from Angmagssalik, on the eastern coast of Greenland, through the Canadian Arctic to Point Barrow on the northern coast of Alaska. This was the DEW (Distant Early Warning) Line. By the mid-1950s, the military airfields, which were serving as support bases for the DEW Line, for the far northern weather stations, as well as for the fledgling trans-polar airline routes to Europe, brought a pattern of change to the Arctic. Inuit families, which previously had followed a nomadic camp existence, began to settle in the vicinity of these bases and their concomitant government schools and health centres. They also began to look to settlement near the already well-established trading posts and church missions. Wage employment and southern "luxuries" were the desires of many of these Inuit families.

The first types of 'permanent' homes which they constructed for

themselves consisted of materials from scrap lumber, packing cases, tarpaper, and cardboard. In most cases, these materials had been discarded by the government employees. Some of the newcomers remained in tents. When these homes came to be used as permanent, year-round dwellings, the harsh northern climate and serious overcrowding gave rise to health and social problems (DIAND, 1972). At this point in time, the Canadian Government turned more attention to the North and to the high incidence of disease, notably respiratory infections such as tuberculosis, which were being reported. The high infant mortality rate was also a matter of national concern (Thomas and Thompson, 1972). Experience quickly demonstrated that infected patients, who had been cured at medical facilities in southern Canade, were constantly being re-infected upon their return to their families. Clearly, the cost of medical treatment being extremely high for the North, the Government could only hope to lower these costs through the improvement of the native standard of living. Finally, the publication in 1960, by the federal Department of National Health and Welfare, of Eskimo Mortality and Housing (DNHW, 1960) conclusively linked better health with better housing.

During the latter 1950s the federal government began a concerted campaign to determine what type of housing was suited to the northern environment, and to provide this housing to the Inuit families in the newly created communities. Local interest in new types of housing was spurred by the provision of accommodation for some of the Inuit employees living there. Two main criteria were considered in the search for suitable accommodation by the government: it had to be economically

acceptable; and it had to be adequate to the northern environment. The first model which was produced was a small, one room house which was made available for purchase by an Inuit family through the payment of small yearly installments. In various locations across the North, about 350 of these units were constructed (DIAND, 1972:1).

Two major problems emerged early on in this program. They were that: (i) the small size of the units (24 ft. x 12 ft. = 288 sq. ft.) did little to alleviate the health and overcrowding problems; and (ii) the cost of the houses themselves, and the cost of heating them, was mainly prohibitive for the Inuit. For example, Gordon (1971:81) cites the following:

actual cost of house (type 370	$2,700
freight	600
total cost	$3,300
less subsidy	1,000
cost to Inuit	$2,300

(October 1963 figures)

The subsidy of 1,000 dollars was a government incentive for private ownership. On top of the cost, however, would be the cost of heating which could exceed 500 dollars per year. Home ownership was quite expensive for the Inuit (DIAND, 1972:1).

Various types and constructions of houses were examined during the time prior to 1965. Some modifications of traditional house types, such as sod houses, styrofoam "igloos," and houses requiring local mosses for insulation, were considered and rejected as impractical. Eventually, the prefabrication of units in southern Canada was seen as the answer. This solved both the shortness of the construction season in the North, and the lack of skilled tradesmen in the locations requiring houses (DIAND, 1972:1). The reader should be cognizant of the fact that, through all of this process, the Inuit were aware of the standard of their housing in relation to that provided for the transient Euro-Canadian workers from the south (Crowe, 1969:93). "White" housing was more spacious; it was well furnished; it had hot and cold running water and better sanitation facilities.

By 1965, many of the Inuit families had indicated a strong desire to purchase their own home. Indeed, some had completed payments on small homes, and had resold them to purchase larger ones (Thomas and Thompson, 1972:10). However, most families had actually fallen far behind in their payments; and those that could afford to purchase housing were restricted economically to the smallest units, model plan 370 of 288 square feet. These were all too often insufficient for the family size. A larger one room unit, of 384 square feet, was introduced in 1961 in an effort to overcome the continuing overcrowding and health problems; and between 1961 and 1965, over 900 of these were built in various locations. The net result of this action was found to be, however, that: "(i) the purchaser's own cash contribution increased in proportion to the size and cost of the house; (ii) the cost of heating

increased in proportion to the size of the house; and (iii) the cost of supplying additional services, such as water, electricity, and health and education facilities, increased in proportion to the needs of the area" (Yates, 1970:46).

The Northern Rental Housing Program

By 1965, a program developed which cast the government in the role of landlord to a massive rental housing program which was implemented in the Summer of 1966. This program followed immediately on the heels of a comprehensive survey of the housing needs of the Inuit. In the eastern portion of the Arctic, it was determined that: of 4,589 persons surveyed, 1,480 were living in 272 tents or snow houses; 722 were occupying unacceptable accommodation of the tarpaper and scrap lumber type; and 2,387 were crowded into 448 one room houses. Even in the remaining units, hopeless overcrowding was indicated (DIAND, 1972:1). The comparable figures for the housing conditions of the Inuit of the entire Northwest Territories and the Province of Quebec, at that time, were: of 11,416 Inuit surveyed, 1,966 were living in 386 igloos or tents; 2,041 were living in 390 completely unacceptable houses; and, of the remaining 1,156 units, only a few were larger than one room (Yates, 1970:46). Minimum acceptable conditions at that time limited the number of persons occupying a one room house to two. The results of their survey demonstrated to the government that the actual average number of persons living in a single-room dwelling was between four and seven, and that there were cases of as many as thirteen persons living in a one room house. The main results of this survey indicated that a minimum of 1,600 new accommodation units were urgently required (DIAND, 1972; Yates, 1970; Gordon, 1971).

The new Northern Rental Housing Program, implemented in the Summer of 1965, introduced a new philosophy of the government* towards northern housing. The salient points of the philosophy were: (i) most Inuit family incomes were too low to meet the operational costs of an adequate home, let alone the capital cost of it; (ii) the provision of basic services, such as fuel and water, were as vital as the provision of the housing itself; (iii) some government formula for subsidization of the total package for the Inuit was essential; and (iv) PARTICIPATION OF THE TENANTS THEMSELVES WAS ESSENTIAL IF THE DANGERS INHERENT IN PATERNALISM AND IN OVERDEPENDENCE WERE TO BE AVOIDED (Yates, 1970:47 - the emphasis is mine). The fourth item of philosophy, above, is most important as it spells out, FOR THE FIRST TIME, government recognition of the Inuit interest in their own affairs. Of course, it had always been a hope that the Inuit would learn from the example set by their Euro-Canadian neighbours in the northern communities:

> The Hudson's Bay Company post buildings are usually well designed and constructed and the Post Managers and their Assistants vie with the Police and others stationed in the neighbourbood in giving their premises a well-groomed appearance. Lawns are not possible, but they can and do provide paths, bordered with white-washed stones, and well-raked gravel patches. At Lake Harbour the employees of the Hudson's

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*Beginning in 1967, the administrative responsibilities for some federal functions, notably education, game and tourism, local government, social development, public works, finance and personnel, were transferred from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to the Government of the Northwest Territories. It should be noted that the term "government," when used in relation to housing and education, refers to BOTH tiers for, even though administrative responsibility has been transferred to Yellowknife, a certain degree of control over finances and over policy has been retained by Ottawa. See, for example, Gordon, 1971; Richardson, 1971.

> Bay Company constructed a tennis court which because of its contours would perhaps place visiting players under a handicap but which represents a great deal of hard work. Besides pleasing those employed at the posts this practice of beautifying the grounds provides a good object lesson for the Eskimo population.
>
> Bethune, 1935:59

Under the new rental program, no Inuit family was required to pay more than 20 per cent of its income towards the rent and the provision of essential services. Under the terms of the rental agreement, all tenants were required to pay at least some rent; welfare housing, which had been rent-free, was no longer available; but, there was a maximum level set to the amount of rent that could be charged; AND, this maximum was "based on the equivalent rentals charged for civil servants working in the north" (Yates, 1970:47). These maximums were set at $37 for a one room house; $42 for a one bedroom house; $62 for a two bedroom house; and, $67 for a three bedroom house. Provision was also made for the Inuit family to purchase the home, by applying part of the rent against the purchase price. This was only if they expressed a desire to do so. No special encouragement for this was given, however.

A sidelight to the northern housing survey, which had identified so many physical needs amongst the Inuit of the Eastern Arctic, was the consideration that social, economic, and educational requirements would have to be met as well. In the words of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development:

> The family centred life of the Eskimos was suddenly becoming a community oriented one. The importance of fur for cash and caribou for food was being replaced by an increasing emphasis on education, health and wage employment.
>
> DIAND, 1972:1

Figure 3

Northern Rental Housing Program - Provision of Housing for the native population of the Northwest Territories

Fiscal Year	New Units Supplied	New Units Occupied	Existing Units Occupied	Total Units Occupied
1966-67	224	224	371	595
1967-68	342	566	549	1115
1968-69	265	831	504	1335
1969-70	181	1012	761	1773
1970-71	175	1187	796	1983
1971-72	120	1307	771	2078
1972-73	110	1417	734	2151
Estimated				
1973-74	120	1537	653	2190
1974-75	125	1662	578	2240

Source: DIAND, 1972:2

The move from the type of accommodation of the past, whether igloo, sod house, tent, or even one-room house, into relatively spacious (768 square feet) and serviced homes was basically a transition into an entirely new way of life. This program has been described as being implemented as a "crash" program (Thomas and Thompson, 1972:11), in an effort to alleviate the physical hardships described above. Simultaneously, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

NORTHERN RENTAL HOUSING PROGRAM - Figure 4

Number of houses supplied

Settlement	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	Totals
Baffin Region					
Arctic Bay	11	7	-	15	33
Broughton	25	4	-	-	29
Burwell	3	-	5	-	8
Cape Dorset	25	24	-	-	49
Clyde	-	7	7	5	19
Frobisher	30	40	-	-	70
Grise Fiord	7	8	-	-	15
Hall Beach	14	2	-	-	16
Igloolik	24	8	-	10	42
Lake Harbour	-	10	12	-	22
Pangnirtung	38	12	-	10	60
Pond Inlet	20	10	-	-	30
Resolute	-	20	-	-	20
Totals	197	152	24	40	413

Number of houses supplied

Settlement	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	Totals
Baffin Region				
Arctic Bay	5	-	-	5
Broughton	-	-	5	5
Burwell	5	-	-	5
Cape Dorset	6	5	10	21
Clyde	15	-	-	15
Frobisher	-	10	-	10
Grise Fiord	-	-	-	-
Hall Beach	-	-	-	-
Igloolik	6	5	10	21
Lake Harbour	-	-	-	-
Pangnirtung	5	10	8	23
Pond Inlet	10	5	4	19
Resolute	-	5	4	9
Totals	52	40	41	133

Source: DIAND, 1972:3

embarked on a massive adult education program with the objective of teaching the Inuit families some of the legal aspects of leasing and renting homes; and the responsibilities of tenants toward rented property. Included in this educational program was instruction on budgeting a seasonal income, achieving a balanced diet, homemaking, child care and community co-operation. The educative program, however, was not as successful as might have been hoped:

> It is not surprising that there have been difficulties in implementing the housing and housing education programs. We suggest that some problems of implementation are primarily due to lack of knowledge concerning Eskimo people and their reactions to government's social and welfare programs. Rapid cultural change through imposition of a "crash" program has been attempted. This approach can lead to a break-down in the program, with goals not being achieved. The changing of existing cultural patterns is drastically different from the introducing of new traits into existing cultural patterns. The former leads to alienation and anomie, while the latter can benefit both the dispensing and recipient groups.
>
> Thomas and Thompson, 1972:11

Finally, Yates states:

> An essential part of the scheme is the Eskimo's own participation in it. To accomplish this, an intensive education drive was launched in each settlement where housing was to be built to teach the concepts, foreign to most Eskimos, of housing rental and of home management and maintenance. Housing Associations were formed among the tenants and encouraged to co-operate in the construction, management and maintenance of the houses. This part of the program, which cost more than $250,000, has been an outstanding success.
>
> Yates, 1970:47

The Housing Association and Northern Housing

In 1965, when the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development introduced the Northern Rental Housing Program, it recommended that a housing authority be established in each community. This housing authority was to be elected from a local association of tenants; and the terms of reference of the authority provided for it to:

> . . . provide an organization, representative of tenants of Departmental housing in a community, which would undertake on behalf of the Department to carry out all necessary maintenance to Departmental rental housing in that community, to act as representative of the tenants in all negotiations with the tenants, and to assume other responsibilities as negotiated.
>
> Rental Housing Association
> By-laws

More specific terms of reference required that:

> The local housing authority would be responsible for the location of rental houses, within the framework of the Departmental site plan for their community.
>
> The local housing authority would be responsible for providing the Department with future housing requirements for their community.
>
> The local housing authority would be responsible for the allocation of available housing to individual tenants.
>
> The local housing authority would be responsible for planning and carrying out all maintenance required on rental houses erected in their community, and in this regard may:

- enter into an annual service contract with the Department for the maintenance of rental housing in their community, and receive an accountable advance for the amount of that service contract.

- disburse funds for the purchase and/or shipment of material necessary to a maintenance program, up to the amount provided to them in the annual service contract entered into with the Department.

Rental Housing Association
By-laws

Settlement — Responsibility for Expenditure 1972

	Fuel	Power	Maintenance	Units	Contract Amount
Arctic Bay	-	-	15,000		
Broughton	-	-	15,000	5	21,594
Cape Dorset	36,000	22,000	24,000		
Clyde River	-	-	13,000		
Frobisher Bay	75,000	35,000	45,000		
Grise Fiord	-	-	5,000		
Hall Beach	-	-	8,000		
Igloolik	-	-	23,000	5	25,240
Lake Harbour	10,500	-	8,000		
Pangnirtung	-	-	25,000	8	43,200
Pond Inlet	-	-	17,000	4	20,000
Port Burwell	14,500	-	8,000		
Resolute Bay	-	-	7,000		

Note:

1. In addition to the responsibilities of financial management of the usage of power and fuel and the maintenance of buildings shown above, the Housing Associations listed above control the allocation of housing, the assessment and collection of rents, the established quotas for power and fuel and the local administration of the program.

2. In those settlements where the Territorial Government is the supplier of fuel and power, the payment for these services is an internal transaction and the Housing Associations are not directly involved at this time. It is expected that this will change in 1973-74 and the Associations will purchase these services from the Government and therefore will be funded for that purpose.

3. The contract amounts shown are for the erection of prefabricated units supplied from outside the Territories.

Figure 5 Role of Housing Associations in Program Operations

Source: DIAND, 1972:4

In reference to the establishment of these local housing authorities, Thomas and Thompson attribute them to the unenviable position in which the Federal Government suddenly found itself. That is, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had placed itself as the landlord for almost every dwelling in the North. Therefore, in order to shift some of the responsibility away from direct Government supervision, and onto a local association of tenants, the program designers developed the idea whereby the people themselves would bear some responsibility for renting and maintaining the dwelling. Membership in the tenant association is, of course, open to all tenants under the rental program. Membership in the local Housing Authority is open to election for a one year term from the general membership at the annual meeting of the tenant association. The by-laws above, decreed that there would be one member of the Housing Authority for every ten rental houses under the program in the community; and that there would be a minimum complement of three members per community

Authority, and a maximum of nine. Finally, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development designed a series of phases through which each Authority could evolve. The first phase saw the Area Administrator for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, or his appointee, serve as the chairman of the Authority. Phase two saw this same Administrator, or his appointee, serve in the capacity of secretary to the Authority; while in the third phase, all officers of the Authority were to be elected from the membership of the Authority, and no appointed members would serve. The phase in which each Authority was considered to be was decided by a two-thirds majority of those tenants present at the annual general meeting of tenants. In other words, the tenants themselves had the say over whether or not Government appointees would serve on the local Housing Authority.

This outlines the organizational basis of the Housing Authority and the Northern Rental Housing Program begun in 1965 and 1966, and continued to the present time. It marked a significant improvement over the previous programs. Now, most Inuit families are housed in modest, but adequate, homes. Community services have improved, and are readily available in all communities; and some planning is being undertaken in most communities. For example, the planning for, and the provision of, bulk fuel oil tanks has lowered the cost of heating fuels by as much as 50 per cent (Yates, 1970:48). There are other measures to ameliorate which are far less clearly definable. Certainly, the general health of the Inuit population has improved (see, for

example, the annual reports of the Commissioner of the N.W.T. for the years from 1967 to 1974) and, certainly, improved housing can claim a share of the credit. Respiratory and digestive diseases, in particular, have shown a marked improvement (Yates, 1970:48). In addition many of the Housing Associations have taken active parts in the affiars of their communities. Yates (1970:49) claims this to have created a "real sense of community spirit." What, then, are the implications of all of this to community development in the North?

Implications of Housing for Northern Community Development

The establishment of the housing program and the housing authorities is only one step in the development of the Inuit, but it is an essential one. In the short-term view, physical needs must be met first. This, then, allows for longer-term social and cultural needs to be examined, and a plan of action for their requirements to be instituted. The immediate goal of providing physical shelter has been successful, but the short time during which the educative process has been in force, mitigates against a measurement of its success.

> It is assumed by most administrator and social scientists that traditional Eskimo life patterns are no longer adequate to meet modern day problems. Indeed, to a large extent, programs and policies concerning housing and adult education tend to assume that Eskimos have adopted southern Canadian cultural values . . . and it has been found that Eskimos have retained many of their traditional cultural traits and that the gorvenment's programs would have a greater chance for success if these traditional ways were taken into account. Although material culture among the Eskimos has undergone drastic changes in the twentieth century (i.e., house type, clothing, tools, etc.), the means for

> utilizing the new material culture and the social values placed upon it have not undergone a concomitant change. This becomes evident to investigators who have lived with Eskimos in the different contexts of camp, settlement, and town. Given the broad goals of government policy, traditional practices can be utilized to reach the policy goals; however, the lack of knowledge concerning traditional values on the part of some administrators often thwarts the effectiveness of related programs.
>
> Thomas and Thompson, 1972:13

There was little consultation with the Inuit during the formative phases of the housing program. The need for northern housing was perceived in southern Canada; solutions to these needs were devised in southern Canada; and, even house types were field tested in the Ottawa area prior to transshipment to the eastern Arctic. Many of the houses were shipped in large numbers to the North, and at high cost, without any prior on site testing to determine adequacy both to the northern environment, and to the northern people. Thus, the first house types constructed prior to 1965 were hopelessly inadequate to the task. Thomas and Thompson (1972:14-15) attribute this directly to a failure to consult with those people who were to be the recipients of the program benefits. The first attempts at providing specialized housing to the Inuit did point up the overcrowding problems; and these were corrected with the introduction of larger units in the Northern Rental Housing Program. In effect, the initial programs themselves were used, at great cost, as field testing devices. Even then, consultation did not take place, and further errors through ignorance were made. For example, Thomas and Thompson point out that there is no provision made for special areas within the homes

for the butchering of meat, or for the repair of snowmobile or outboard motors. As a result, seals are butchered and stored in the home bathtubs and the kitchen table and floor are the common spots for the repair of motors. Similarly, consultation and a further awareness of traditional Inuit patterns of space utilization would have revealed that the division of the home into a series of separate bedrooms reflects a southern Canadian bedroom morality, not an Inuit one. Even an awareness of space utilization within a traditional snowhouse would show that sleeping arrangements do not reflect the belief that persons of varying ages and of different sexes require separate sleeping areas. Again, this is a southern Canadian belief, not an Inuit one. One common sleeping platform prevailed with a traditional sleeping arrangement from wall to wall of older daughter-younger daughter-mother-father-younger son-older son serving the niceties of Inuit mores. A greater understanding on the part of the designers of the traditional patterns which are still employed would result in a much different internal separation of rooms for the houses.

It was recognized by the government that a major objective of the housing program involved the educative process of local government. The Branch Housing Co-ordinator for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, having spent some time noting that most reports on the housing program centered around design and construction faults in the houses, issued the following memorandum, dated April 1967, to the education workers in the field:

> We are well aware that any house must have faults and we are equally sure that many members of our staff could make out lists of what they considered wrong with the houses. However, one of the main purposes of the Housing Program is to teach Eskimo people to think for themselves in their new housing environment; to discover for themselves the techniques and skills of using a home to the fullest extent; to correct faults in the houses themselves when possible; to make adjustments to their pattern of living; to enjoy the house and make it comfortable; and last but not least to learn how to get things done by reporting them to the landlord through the housing authority.

The memorandum concluded by recommending that the housing education workers concentrate on educating the Inuit people in the administration and maintenance of the housing program, preparatory to takeover. Tenant control of the housing program was a very good idea on paper, but it should be understood that their autonomy was subject to certain controls. Any and all decisions by the housing authority were subject to change or veto by government officials; and "crucial decisions regarding design, furnishings, material for construction, location of buildings, and employment of work crews are made outside the community" (Thomas and Thompson, 1972:18). Furthermore, whether local decisions were countermanded by the government officials or not, the knowledge that the possibility was there, could have been sufficient to undermine seriously the workings of the body, and to destroy the community spirit. For example, the Inuit of Frobisher Bay felt that their Housing Authority had little or no real power. As a result they felt frustrated and despondent over the value of that body (see Thomas and Thompson, 1972:18-19). This feeling was summed up by Simonie Michael at a conference/workshop on "Building in Northern Communities" held in 1974 at Inuvik, N.W.T. Simonie Michael was, until recently, the chairman of the Frobisher Bay

Housing Association, and had been a territorial councillor for two terms. He said:

> "Most of the problems we face are caused by the way the houses were built. The Housing Association does not have the power to make the changes that are needed. The only thing we can do is to tell the government's Public Works Department about our problems.
>
> "Frobisher Bay is divided into two communities. The Federal Government decided to move houses from one community to the other community three miles away. Twenty houses were moved without the permission of the people living there. The people did not want to move and in time the Territorial Government stopped the moving of the houses. The road between the communities is not very good so in the move the houses were damaged and so far have not been repaired properly.
>
> "The Housing Association employs about four people to look after about 228 low-rental houses. There is a big problem of maintenance. There are too few people to look after the work. It is impossible to keep up with the problems of repairing the houses. The Housing Association does not have the materials they need to look after the government staff houses."

Apart from the administrative problems, there have been problems with the designs of the homes themselves. Simonie Michael explains:

> "There are three types of houses in Frobisher Bay. Some people call them the 'Match Box,' the 'Cracker Box' and the 'Three Bedroom.' Three-bedroom houses are prefab houses brought from the south. We received these houses with just a stove, no furniture and no water system. So the Housing Association asked for water systems. The way the three-bedroom houses were built, there was not a separate room for putting in the water system. There was a room which was uninsulated for storing food and the government decided to put the water tank in the unheated

> room. In the winter time the water tanks froze. The 250 gallon water tanks were then moved into the living room. However, the thickness of the floor was only four inches and not strong enough to support the tank. The floor dropped, the pipe systems broke and all kind of things happened. The people who rent these houses are not happy about paying the rent because of all these problems."

and, he continues:

> "These houses were put on a piece of land with all the doors facing to the north. Since the cold winds come from the north, every time you open the door in the winter time the cold comes right into the house. If there is a water tank in this area, it will freeze in the winter. I feel the door should face the south.
>
> "There is now the opportunity to put in a utilidor in Frobisher Bay. These houses we have been talking about are not good enough to link up with the utilidor. However, staff houses of the government have running water, flush toilets and small utilidors."

These comments raise several points. First, low cost houses have been provided for the Inuit in an attempt to bring their living conditions into line with those of other Canadians. Many of the Inuit, who have known a previous way of life, realize the benefits and the relative comforts of the low rental houses. Younger Inuit do not have this comparison to make. They see that the Euro-Canadian administrator, who comes from southern Canada and is accustomed to more luxurious accommodations than those which are provided for the Inuit, is provided with a larger, better-made, and better-furnished house. The younger Inuit are extremely conscious of these differences, and a great potential

for stress between the two ethnic groups has been established.

Secondly, and more noteworthy, when a Euro-Canadian attempts to rent a low cost house, he is not permitted to do so. Thomas and Thompson (1972:19) note that one of them, on field research in Frobisher Bay, was forced to relinquish tenancy of a low cost house. The low cost houses are located in Ikaluit; whereas government personnel, at that time, were very much restricted to Lower Base. This writer can also attest to the fact that, while he was a teacher in Frobisher Bay, two other teachers from the federal day school were not permitted to live in the low rental units in Ikaluit when there was space for them in Lower Base. This was over 1967 and 1968. The feeling among the teachers at that time was that, by residing alongside the Inuit families in the "Village," a closer rapport might be established between the teachers and families of those children they taught. It was a hope that cultural understanding might take place in both directions in this way. However, the idea was not permitted by the regional government officers.

Thirdly, a practice of desegregation has begun in Frobisher Bay. With the completion of the Frobisher Complex on Astro Hill, the new apartment building and the blocks of row housing are available to both Inuit and Euro-Canadian alike. While some question has been raised at this innovation, the apartments have been rented to anyone willing and able to pay the

rent (Thomas and Thompson, 1972:19).

Simonie Michael continued:

> "Last year we received twenty houses which is good because they have furnaces in these houses, electric stoves and dryers. The Housing Association has collected the names of people who wish to move into houses which are not yet completed. Last month they had a meeting to talk about the rent for these new houses. The rental fee was 25% of your wages. Some of the Eskimos at Frobisher Bay make only $400 a month so when you have paid your rent you have not much left for your food and clothing. I am working and my wife is working - do we each pay 25% of our wages? They tell me that my rent is going to be $400 a month; that is a very high rent. The people who were going to move into the rental houses have decided not to because they can't afford it. I don't know what is going to happen after this.
>
> "Government staff houses have everything needed in the house - furniture, dishes and all kinds of things. I don't think they are being charged $400 a month for rent."

These comments from Simonie Michael are included in Glover (1974:49-52).

Two final points need to be made in relation to northern housing and the implications for northern community development. Both relate to local participation in the decision-making process. First, in traditional Inuit society, there was little competition and each member recognized that some individuals were better at particular tasks than others. Best hunters were recognized within a camp, and prestige fell to that individual and to his family because he was best able to share

his larger catch with the rest of the camp and he was continually sought after for advice. Similarly, the shaman within the camp wielded a de facto power and prestige. To any northern teacher, this trait is still evident among the students in the classroom. In this same context, then, the Inuit recognized the inherent prowess of the southern administrator in matters of organization and administration. All too often, this de facto prestige and power was bestowed upon the administrator without his even being aware of it or of its nature. The reader will recognize the inherent weakness, therefore, in a program which makes provision for an evolutionary progression of power from the local administrator to a locally elected Inuit body. This was the case in the design for the evolution of housing authorities as described above. In many cases, the evolution simply did not take place and, more importantly, some administrators were not even aware that it had not taken place. This writer experienced much of this in 1969 and 1970 in Grise Fiord when the changeover from an appointed advisory council to an elected settlement council was taking place.

In this regard, Thomas and Thompson comment:

> It is an implicit purpose of the housing authority and the community council to guide Eskimos gradually into a position of being able to govern themselves and to become self-reliant. However, the contrasting aggressive behaviour of the whites and the withdrawing behaviour of the Eskimos (both of which are cultural traits) thwarts the intended policy and instead creates a continuing state of dependency on the part of the Eskimos.
>
> Thomas and Thompson, 1972:20
> the emphasis is mine

Secondly, the traditional Inuit culture utilized reciprocity as a measure of security. It was to everyone's advantage to share food and equipment with those who were temporarily without, for those recipients were socially obligated to reciprocate when they were able. Sharing was equal within the group. People were expected to return favours; those who did not participate were ostracized; and those who unduly remained on the receiving end were reprimanded through song and dance. In a sense it was a socialistic society. Into this society, the government has cast itself in the role of donor. In its policies it hopes that reciprocal exchange will take place, but it is very unclear as to what it would receive from the Inuit in return for housing and other aid. It speaks vaguely about the Inuit becoming self-reliant through education and through local participation in the governing process. But, to the Inuit who are, and always have been, oriented to the present and not to the future, this can only be an abstract notion. Therefore, the potential for reciprocal exchange has not been realized.

In fairness and honesty to the government, is should be realized that these programs were instituted on a "crash" basis at a time in history when every nation in the world was becoming aware of the minority inequalities of every other nation. It also should be realized that the government responded quickly and humanely to real and pressing physical needs. Now that those physical needs have been alleviated, however, it is time to reconsider the role that the government must play in meeting the social and cultural needs of the Inuit.

The choice is obvious. The government can either pursue its policies within the context of the Inuit culture, in which case patience and understanding will lead to an effective form of local participation in decision-making; or, it can continue with imposed change where the responsibility all rests with the government. In this case, the outcome is continued paternalism. In either case, policies definitely have to be clarified; and the time for that is now.

Chapter V

Some Aspects of Education

> The educational requirements of the Eskimos in this region [the eastern Arctic] are very simple, and their mental capacity to assimilate academic teaching is limited. Contact with white men is at present largely confined to traders, missionaries, and Government officials. The established traders, who are in the Territories for commercial purposes, have the interests of the Eskimos at heart. Not only because the welfare of one is bound up closely with the welfare of the other, but because most of the post managers and their assistants get to like these simple, cheerful and hardy folk.
>
> Bethune, 1935:55-56

> "We should have had small schools in the communities to start with, instead of trying to do things in such a big way - a one-shot system that causes five or six hundred kids to go to school at one time. It just does not work because the parents of the kids are so far away from hostels. Government didn't think about the parents. It was figured out that the parents could take care of themselves. You must realize that the parents have got to go through the education system and move along with the kids. If you don't, you're just another person to the kids after awhile."
>
> Glover, 1974:41

Background to Northern Education

Education in the Eastern Arctic has only been a matter of recent concern. Historically, education as we know it has been introduced to the less "civilized" reaches of the globe by the missionaries; and the Arctic was no exception. Informal education, learning which ensues from watching, hearing, seeing, and doing, of a cross-cultural nature,

began with the first contact between Inuit and non-Inuit groups. In recorded history, this was probably around A.D. 1000 when Viking groups from Iceland and Greenland entered the North American Arctic (Jenness, 1964:9). Between that time and the present, consistent contact would have begun in the early to mid-nineteenth century with the European whalers who sometimes quartered on the eastern shores of the Arctic islands. The missionaries were to be found there not long afterwards.

In 1876, Rev. E.J. Peck, an Anglican missionary, introduced a syllabic form of writing to the Inuit of eastern Hudson Bay. These syllabics had been invented by James Evans, a Methodist missionary, for work among the Cree Indians. In 1894 Peck transported this new form of writing to Baffin Island from whence it diffused throughout the eastern Arctic. The Canadian government had little interest at that time in the Inuit in general, and in their education in particular. Indicative of this, was the fact that the Inuit of Labrador had learned from the Moravians to write their language in the Roman alphabet, as had the Inuit of the Mackenzie Delta in the Western Arctic. It was unfortunate that Peck had been permitted to isolate the Inuit of the eastern Arctic - a lonely group between two groups of their own brethren, both possessing the English alphabet. Indeed, even the Inuit of Greenland used the Roman alphabet for their own written language. They had been able to commit many of their legends to written form, and they had even published an all Greenlandic newspaper as early as 1861. This newspaper is still in publication (Jenness, 1964; and Orvik, 1975).

Little mention is made during the first half of the present century of Inuit education or, for that matter, of the eastern Arctic. The main exception to this comprises a thin volume published in 1935 (Bethune, 1935) not long after the Eastern Arctic Expedition of 1933. For this expedition the Hudson's Bay Company motor vessel SS Nascopie was used to visit most of the settlements and posts of the eastern Arctic. The thoughts of the federal government at that time come through very clearly in Bethune's book which was printed by the Department of the Interior for the Northwest Territories Council. Two excerpts have already been included in this thesis. It is worth repeating what the report had to say about Inuit education in the eastern Arctic:

> The educational requirements of the Eskimos in this region are very simple, and their mental capacity to assimilate academic teaching is limited. Contact with white men is at present largely confined to traders, missionaries, and Government officials. The established traders, who are in the Territories for commercial purposes, have the interests of the Eskimos at heart. Not only because the welfare of one is bound up closely with the welfare of the other, but because most of the post managers and their assistants get to like these simple, cheerful, and hardy folk.
>
> The Eskimos sometimes pass on their knowledge of syllabic to one another when there are no white teachers about, and it is not uncommon to hear of Eskimos who have never been to school corresponding with friends by this ingenious method of writing. Of course the postal service is provided by some other obliging friend who happens to be going in the right direction.
>
> The Dominion Government, through the Department of the Interior, makes a grant to all mission schools in the Northwest Territories, provided the attendance averages a certain specified number. The required minimum is low, and the size of the grant in the case of residential schools depends on the number of pupils in attendance. In addition to this grant, school supplies

> are furnished by the department. In cases where the attendance is too low to warrant a grant, the department assists by furnishing school supplies.
>
> Bethune, 1935:55-56

Beyond reiterating that these very patronizing comments were made only forty years ago, perhaps it would be best to draw a kindly curtain over them.

By 1955, the Inuit communities of the eastern Arctic had remained relatively untouched by formal educational structures and procedures. That year, according to Simpson (1968), marked the beginning of a unified educational system. Prior to that, three separate groups: the Government of the Northwest Territories; the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches; and two federal components had been involved in education in the north. These last were the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Now, however, an accord was reached whereby all responsibility for Inuit education in the Arctic regions of Canada was vested in a new agency. This new agency, the Education Division, was attached to the Northern Administration Branch of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources; and it was to set up and operate an ethnically-integrated educational system. In 1966, Northern Affairs and National Resources became the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Between 1967 and 1970, this Department transferred all responsibility for education to the Department of Education of the Government of the North-

west Territories, where it rests today. Figure 6 , identifies each of the schools in the Inuit communities of the Arctic. The years in which they were established are given; and those schools which are in the eastern Arctic are specifically marked. Upon establishment, each school was designated a "federal day school" under the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

The primary overall objective of the Education Division was "to establish an educational system which would give the Eskimo and other northern people equality of opportunity in education with other Canadians" (Simpson et al., 1968:2). From the beginning in 1955, however, a major complicating factor centered on the fact that there was, and there continues to be, a large number of Euro-Canadian children in the North. These children, and their parents, have originated in southern Canada or in western Europe where educational standards and traditions are considered to be high. Therefore, the government felt obligated to provide them with educational opportunities equivalent to what might be found anywhere in Canada. However, their needs were considerably different from the needs of the Inuit population. Thus, a system had to be devised which adapted the educational curricula conjointly to the Euro-Canadian culture and to that of the Inuit. The overall language of instruction was to be English.

DATES OF ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS
IN ESKIMO COMMUNITIES

Calendar Year	School Established
1947	Tuktoyaktuk
1949	Fort Chimo
1950	Aklavik
	*Cape Dorset
	Coppermine
	Port Harrison
	Coral Harbour
1951	Chesterfield Inlet
1955	*Frobisher Bay
1956	Great Whale River
	Inuvik
	*Pangnirtung
	Reindeer Station
1957	Baker Lake
	Cambridge Bay
	Rankin Inlet
	Sugluk
1958	*Arctic Bay
	Povungnituk
	*Resolute Bay
	Spence Bay
1959	*Broughton Island
	Clyde River
	Eskimo Point
1960	Belcher Islands
	*Igloolik
	Ivuyivik
	Koartak
	Payne Bay
	*Pond Inlet
	Wakeham Bay
1961	Whale Cove
1962	George River
	Gjoa Haven
	*Grise Fiord
	*Padloping
	Pelly Bay
1963	*Lake Harbour
1964	*Port Burwell
1965	Holman Island
1967	*Hall Beach

* Communities in the Eastern Arctic

Figure 6 Dates of Establishment of Schools in Eskimo Communities.
Source: Simpson et al., 1968

CANADIAN ESKIMO FULL-TIME ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS
IN ESKIMO COMMUNITIES, 1955-56 to 1967-68

Community	1955-56	1960-61	1967-68
MACKENZIE DISTRICT			
Aklavik	216	49	81
Cambridge Bay	-	39	76
Coppermine	38	33	121
Gjoa Haven	-	-	49
Holman Island	-	-	53
Inuvik	-	352	394
Pelly Bay	-	-	23
Reindeer Station	-	17	20
Spence Bay	-	21	50
Tuktoyaktuk	45	63	115
ARCTIC DISTRICT			
Arctic Bay	-	30	46
Broughton Island	-	19	65
Cape Dorset	44	33	115
Clyde River	-	10	53
Frobisher Bay	-	178	327
Grise Fiord	-	-	28
Hall Beach	-	-	31
Igloolik	-	34	97
Lake Harbour	-	-	26
Padloping	-	-	16
Pangnirtung	-	20	135
Pond Inlet	-	19	96
Resolute Bay	-	25	42
Port Burwell	-	-	29
Belcher Islands	-	15	25
Baker Lake	-	84	151
Chesterfield Inlet	35	101	114
Coral Harbour	18	52	65
Eskimo Point	-	30	123
Rankin Inlet	-	138	121
Whale Cove	-	23	40
Fort Chimo	22	94	77
George River	-	-	46
Great Whale River	-	84	125
Ivuyivik	-	22	22
Koartak	-	11	18
Payne Bay	-	31	46
Port Harrison	23	26	78
Povungnituk	-	103	144
Sugluk	-	55	62
Wakeham Bay	-	36	37
	441	1,847	3,382

Figure 7 Canadian Eskimo Full-Time Enrolment in Schools in Eskimo Communities.

Source: Simpson, 1968:19

AGE-GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF ESKIMO
PUPILS AS OF JANUARY 31, 1967

	Age															
Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	Total
V.T.								1	1	13	29	44	40	25	19	172
I	70	355	334	187	95	45	27	27	17	9	11	1				1,178
II			20	154	132	98	47	25	21	6	7	2	1			513
III				18	91	102	101	80	48	27	17	5		4	2	495
IV					21	66	80	94	67	47	37	14	7	2		435
V					1	11	25	79	44	39	34	13	4	1	1	252
VI							5	12	29	44	23	12	3	5	1	134
VII								4	14	14	17	9	8	2	2	70
VIII									2	7	8	7	5	1	5	35
IX										1	7	3	7	3	4	25
X											1	4	4	6	4	19
XI													1	6	2	9
XII													1		5	6
	70	355	354	359	340	322	285	322	243	207	191	114	81	55	45	3,343

Figure 8 Age-Grade Distribution of Eskimo Pupils - 1967.

Source: Simpson, 1968:20

Educational Process and Northern Social Change

Simpson summarizes the process which has been underway in the North for the past two decades:

> The term 'community' has undergone a profound change during the period in which the education system has been in operation. The traditional Eskimo settlement was a small camp temporary in nature, comprising a handful of families usually closely related one to another. The locale of the settlement would change from time to time depending on the vagaries of hunting, fishing or trapping. Within the past decade there has been a pronounced trend towards living in larger urban settlements with abandonment of the traditional small hunting settlement off in the wilderness. This trend has become more pronounced in the past three or four years since the advent of housing schemes for the Eskimo and the

> widespread adoption of the motorized toboggan for transportation to and from the hunting grounds. The school itself has been not the least of the influences bringing about this trend towards urbanization. The increasing governmental role in the North, as well as the improved transportation and the amenities now available in the larger settlements, are other potent factors contributing to this movement.
>
> Simpson, 1968:3

Simpson is not alone in stressing that the school and the education system is only one of the factors contributing to social change in the North. David Born, in speaking of his work with the Inuit of the Belcher Islands, in L'Education chez les Esquimaux et le Traumatisme Dû au Changement Social, mentions:

> Notons au départ que l'acculturation n'est ni une "chose," ni un "événement," mais un processus de transformation où se trouvent engagées, dans le cas qui nous intéresse, une société dominante et une société subordonée. Nous n'étudierons ici qu'un aspect de l'incorporation de la société esquimaude traditionnelle à la société euro-canadienne, technologiquement plus avancée et socialement plus complexe. Le programme d'éducation est l'un des nombreux instruments qu'utilise la société euro-canadienne pour effectuer cette incorporation.
>
> Born, 1970:9

Born continues to examine education as an instrument of social change among the Inuit:

> . . . en 1960, avec l'apparition du programme fédéral d'éducation et l'attention gouvernementale concomitante,, s'ouvraient les écluses du changement social. Au cours des dix dernières années, les insulaires ont été inondés de stimuli sociaux et matériels qui ont mis a l'épreuve leurs possibilites d'assimilation et de comprehension. De tout cela, il résulte que l'Esquimau des îles Belcher [and from the entire eastern Arctic] est confronté avec un complexe de relations sociales et économiques bien éloignées de ses instruments et de ses modes de pensée traditionnels.
>
> Born, 1970:19

Other authors, Jenness (1962), Oswalt (1963), Jenness (1964), and Hughes (1965), have questioned the educational process and its relation to the cultural values of the Inuit of Alaska and Canada; and Darnell (1968) considers that it might be worthwhile to close northern schools for six months while "all teachers are afforded the opportunity of retraining in the true nature of their pupil's needs and background and new programs are developed" (Darnell, 1968:65). Hetzler (1969) adds, "every society has its system of education or it would not be able to perpetuate its culture and so retain its identity" (Hetzler, 1969:49). Finally, one might consider an incident recorded by Graburn (1969) from the Tahagmiut area in Arctic Quebec on the southern shore of Hudson Strait. For what it describes of the education system, and the educational process, it is worth recounting the incident in its entirety:

> In one Takamiut area school the junior teacher forbade the children to speak Eskimo in school and she punished some of the children who did so. The Eskimo parents were very upset when they heard about this, as they do not believe in physical punishment of any kind, especially for speaking one's

> own language. One of the parents, who also happened to speak English and knows a lot about the outside world although he did not go to school, became their spokesman. He went to the head teacher who was also the husband of the offending teacher and complained. The head teacher, defending his wife as well as the system, said that such behaviour was policy and would help the children learn English. The Eskimo was very indignant and said that he did not think children should be taught English by force or they might in a few generations forget Eskimo, their own language. He told the teacher, "How would you like it if your children were punished for speaking English in school and you knew that perhaps your grandchildren will forget English altogether and only speak Eskimo? If anything like this happens again we will refuse to send our children to school."
>
> The teacher did not know how sophisticated the Eskimo was and told him that if they refused to send their children to school that was against the law; he would call the police and maybe the parents would be sent to jail or have their subsidies cut off. The Eskimo replied that he would love to go to court to be tried on this charge. He said that he would write to all the newspapers and tell them just how the Eskimo children were being treated - then they would send all their reporters to the court to hear the case and it would be in all the papers . . . . The offending practices were stopped and the teacher and his wife left at the end of the school year.
>
> Graburn, 1969:201

Although the ending is somewhat unusual, the incident is not unique. This writer has observed that, in three years of teaching with the Inuit in the eastern Arctic, the children were never forbidden to speak their own language in the school; but it was not encouraged. Graburn continues, in relating this incident, that it didn't really end until a few years later when the Inuit who had been involved admitted privately that he had been wrong in his actions against the teachers. He said that he now realized that the Inuit children would not learn properly in school if they did not listen to their teachers,

and if they refused to speak English. It has been this writer's experience in Grise Fiord, that most Inuit would agree with the above informant's final thoughts. However, they would not condone any form of physical compulsion. Rather, they would explore alternative methods of maintaining the language and the cultural integrity.

From the above, it would appear that there is more than one form of educational process at work. There is the formal educational instruction - in the eastern Arctic; it is in English, and it parallels the curriculum of the Province of Ontario. Grades one to six, as southern Canadians know them, are offered to the Inuit of the smaller communities such as Grise Fiord. To progress beyond grade six, the children are sent out of the settlement by air. Prior to 1971, the children went to Fort Churchill, Manitoba for further schooling. Now, there is a high school and vocational centre in Frobisher Bay which serves the eastern Arctic. In either case, the children would be separated for ten months out of the year from their families and from their communities. A second form of educational process at work might be termed an informal process. This follows from the fact that English is considered the prime language for communication. Many newspapers and magazines come from southern Canada into the Arctic settlements; these are "consumed" by the entire settlement in much the same manner that magazines are "consumed" in a doctor's waiting room, or in a barber shop. Whether the English language is understood or not, the photographs and the advertisements "speak" for themselves.

Radio communications with the outside world are almost entirely in English. Two forms of radio communications exist. First, both the police and the government administrator have short-wave transceivers for the reception of government messages, for transmitting meteorological reports to the Ministry of Transport (MOT), for medical consultations, for contact with aircraft, and so on. Larger settlements have more elaborate MOT aeradio facilities for both marine and air navigation. The Inuit are fully aware of these facilities, and at times, have utilized them for corresponding from one Inuit community to another. Secondly, most of the households, including those of the Inuit, possess short-wave receivers. Listeners can regularly tune in the Northern Service of the CBC, the BBC from London, the Voice of America, or even the North American Service of Radio Moscow. Apart from the CBC, which does carry some Eskimo language (Inuktitut) broadcasts, curiously enough, Radio Moscow seems to be a favourite. The reason for Radio Moscow's popularity seems to be that, unlike the BBC, or the Voice of America, the only other stations that are received with strong signals, the North American Service of Radio Moscow is broadcast in simple, accentless English.* In addition, larger settlements like Frobisher Bay have

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*One of the stories which is told in the North concerns a southern Canadian reporter who travelled on a northern tour with the Commissioner of the N.W.T. In an effort to determine the extent of the political knowledge of the Eskimo, he asked one elderly gentleman, "Who is the Prime Minister of Canada?" The Eskimo replied that he did not know. "And who is the President of the United States?" asked the reporter. The man did not know that either. But, stated the Eskimo with a twinkle in his eye, he did know that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko had travelled with Minister of Foreign Trade Patolichev to Toyko last Tuesday.

their own AM broadcasting stations, where the Inuit can hear the news, in English, and can listen to the latest hit tunes from southern Canada. Now, of course, the stationary satellite, ANIK, has brought television to the most of the Arctic. The television programs are repeated from the southern network, and are primarily in English. Finally, Bell Telephone of Canada has introduced long-distance radio-telephone services to most settlements.

Constant exposure to the English language and to the Euro-Canadian culture is a not-so-subtle form of informal educational process; and a very close analogy may be drawn between this situation and that which is currently being debated in southern Canada - namely, the complaints regarding the amount of violence for children on television. It might be noted at this point that both of the above educational processes, formal and informal, are designed to socialize the Inuit away from his own culture. This would appear to directly conflict with the system of education which is described by Hetzler above.

Simpson (1969) identifies the impact of the educational system on three levels: the individual level, the family level, and the community level. On the individual's level, the impact comes primarily from the formal system. A good review of the process, and of its consequences, is given in Simpson (1969:3-8). The second level is that of family life, and at this level, more of the informal processes appear. Simpson cites the example of routine and scheduling as having far-reaching consequences

on Inuit family life (1969:8-9). In southern Canada, the working, eating, sleeping, and school routines are often governed by daylight and darkness, and by the seasons. Sleeping takes place generally over the dark hours; eating is done when it is first light, when it is last light, and half-way between; school is recessed for the two summer months to allow the students to have a break in the warm months, and to allow the parents to take their holidays. Therefore, in southern Canada school is held from 0900 to 1200 and from 1300 to 1530, on Monday through Friday, during the months from September through June. Meals are taken at 0800, 1200 and 1730, on an average; and an average school child might sleep from 2000 through 0730. The exact times are not all that important, but most parents are aware of the routines that a schedule such as this forces upon a family. Most families can accept the reasoning behind such routines. The confusion, then, can be great in a settlement like Grise Fiord, when the school imposes the same scheduling and routine; formal school is in session from 0900 through 1530 hours, on Monday through Friday, from September through June. Here, however, July, August and September are not especially warm; and they are difficult months in which to travel since the sea ice is breaking up. The summer recess, therefore, is <u>not</u> for the benefit of the Inuit; it is for the benefit of the Euro-Canadians. Similarly, from the high latitude, there are twenty-four hours of darkness from the end of October through the middle of February; and, there are twenty-four hours of daylight from the end of April through the middle of August. It has been this writer's experience that, in Grise Fiord, the Inuit children may sleep long hours in the dark period - as much as sixteen hours at a stretch; and, may play outside at 0330 in the daylight period, and only sleep for a few hours. The children's routine

seems to be governed mainly by the needs of the body. They play when they wish; eat when they are hungry; and sleep when they are tired. The school routine, therefore, is based solely on southern values, and on a physical environment which is not found in the Arctic. Formalized routine, scheduling, and discipline, of the type shown above, was not known in the traditional Inuit society.

It is possible and, indeed, it has been the case, that routine and scheduling are carried to an extreme. Koster (1972), in relating the school situation in Frobisher Bay, says of it:

> The school is run in a conventional manner. Were it not for the Eskimo pupils and displays of their drawings and stories on the walls, the school could be anywhere in Canada. In fact, I was very much reminded of my own school days in a small country school in Europe some decades ago. There was the same strict adherance to rules and regulations, bells and timetables, standing in line and walking quietly through the corridors. The emphasis on discipline and the occasional physical punishment by individual teachers or by the Principal in his office, were also similar. The Principal rationalized his approach to the organization and the discipline in the school <u>from his belief that there is an extreme lack of order, control and discipline in most Eskimo households</u>. <u>The school thus has to provide these</u>; an orientation which was expressed to the teachers at various occasions, but not shared by all of them.
>
> Koster, 1972:123-124, emphasis is mine.

Koster further supports these statements by quoting a notice circulated by the Principal, and dated September 8, 1971. It reads:

> The Base School has an automatic electric bell system and classes will enter and leave the building according to these bells. It might happen that your watch will not correspond to the bell, however, teachers will be expected to dismiss their classes by the bell only.
>
> This applies not only to the noon hour and evening dismissals but to recess periods as well. To avoid any misunderstanding I will repeat myself; I do not want to see classes leaving before the bell rings. In the morning, there will be two bells; one at 9:27, the other at 9:30. When the first bell sounds classes are to line up at their respective outside entrances. The teacher should meet the class at the outside door and escort them into the building in an orderly manner. I will expect this of each teacher. Please do not have your class enter the building unaccompanied or expect another teacher to look after them for you. Some classes are being exceptionally noisy when they are entering or leaving the building. I would like to discourage this and the time to stop it is now, before it becomes a habit. I would appreciate it if each teacher would speak to his or her class immediately and try to correct the situation.
>
> Koster, 1972:124-125,
> emphasis in the original

Stressing again, the lack of formalized routine and discipline in the Inuit society, the above notice demonstrates both a lack of understanding of, and a lack of respect for, the Inuit culture. It should be noted at this point, that most Inuit families respect the routines imposed upon them by the school, and adapt their lifestyles accordingly. For those who don't, financial sanctions can be levied. Family allowances are withdrawn when a child is absent without good cause for five days or more in any one month. In addition, Koster notes that, during 1970 and 1971, the parents of eight Inuit children were brought into court for gross absenteeism on the part of their children. All eight were found guilty and fined. The Principal noted that in six of these cases, an improvement was noticeable (Koster, 1972:125).

Finally, in relation to social change and the Inuit family, mention needs to be made of the pupil residences and the impact that they have had on family life. As was indicated above, students progressing beyond the grade six level were originally sent by air to Fort Churchill, Manitoba. More latterly, they have gone from the eastern Arctic to Frobisher Bay. In either case the residences fostered standards of discipline and regularity in every manner of living: eating, sleeping, cleanliness, clothing, study habits, and so on. The students live in the residences for ten months out of the year and return to their home settlements for the summer months only. The difference, however, in standards between the pupil residence and the home community makes it difficult for the pupils to readjust:

> The values acquired by the young people in school and residence sometimes leads to misunderstanding and hostility between Eskimo parents and children. Such conflict is new in Eskimo society as previously children accepted without question the authority of their parents and other adults. Thus the new attitudes of independent thought and action among the young are confusing and disturbing to the older generation.
>
> Simpson, 1968:9

Impact of Education upon the Community and the Impact of the Community upon Education

The third level of influence that Simpson has identified is that at the community level. It is at this level, finally, that the process of influence and social change begins to be two-way, and a form of feedback appears. First, the school offers wage employment to some of the community members. Inuit classroom assistants and auxiliary staff provide a twofold benefit. Given the fact that most northern teachers are not facile in Inuktitut, this is one method of helping young pupils who are just beginning English and the learning process. In addition, a meaningful rapport and understanding between the school and the Inuit employees will continue to smooth the way of the institution in the community. Secondly, the use of English as the language of instruction does have significant consequences, and they are reflected in the changed economic system which is now based on a co-operative and on the Hudson's Bay Company. Where in the past the de facto leader was the most accomplished hunter or, perhaps, the charismatic shaman, now the Inuit with a command of English will hold a position of authority. He will see himself, and he will be seen, as a link between the Inuit and the English speaking group in the community. Similarly, Simpson points out, the co-operative manager with a command of English will be better equipped to deal effectively with southern commercial concerns (Simpson, 1968:13).

In most communities the school has become the center for recreational activities. It is identified as the place where Christmas and feast dinners and dances are held; where movies are screened; or where housing association and community council meetings are held. Finally, a wide

range of adult education programs are held in the school. They serve a two-fold purpose. First, they provide formal instruction for the adults in the English language, in housing education, in the local government process, and in co-operative development. Secondly, they provide the adult population with an informal understanding of the educational process and of its impact on the younger generation. In the words of Born:

> Les parents comprendraient beaucoup plus aisément le processus d'éducation s'ils y étaient eux-mêmes engagés grâce à des cours conçus à leur intention, ou par quelque autre moyen propre à les initier au systeme scolaire. Ils seraient en mesure de comprendre les problèmes de leurs enfants et verraient mieux les "pourquoi" et les avantages de l'intégration. Fait plus important encore, ils acquerraient peu à peu des techniques, fussent-elles rudimentaires, qui progressivement leur permettraient de déterminer eux-mêmes le rythme de l'évolution de leurs conditions de vie. Le fait de s'engager les aiderait à se considerer eux-mêmes comme membres actifs de l'intégration en cours - plutôt que comme des êtres plus ou moins encombrants qui suivent le courant. Les choses étant ce qu'elles sont maintenant, chaque jour que l'enfant passe à l'école ne fait qu'élargir le fossé psychologique et social qui le sépare de ses parents.
>
> Born, 1970:35

Finally, there should be, and to an increasing degree there is, a certain amount of social and cultural input from the community into the educational system. Born maintains:

> Il y aurait de nombreux avantages à ce que l'Esquimau adulte contribue lui-même à l'instruction des jeunes. Il serait bien facile de l'inviter à l'école pour parler aux enfants des metiers traditionnels: chasse, construction d'embarcations, traitement et assemblage des peaux, etc.,

> de même que pour y raconter des histoires du pays. Pareil apport serait utile à plus d'un titre. Il répondrait au désir qu'éprouvent les parents de voir la nouvelle génération s'intéresser aux modes de vie traditionnels. Il accentuerait l'auto-estime de l'adulte, tout aussi bien que le respect des enfants envers les auteurs de leurs jours.
>
> Born, 1970:35-36

And, from the viewpoint of the teachers in the North:

> De leur côté, les enseignants profiteraient sûrement de ce nouveau moyen d'échange; comme les enfants sentiraient croître le respect et la confiance réciproques de leurs parents et de leurs instituteurs, les problemes scolaires perdraient de leur acuité.
>
> Born, 1970:36

The outlook is becoming brighter. More high schools are being built across the North in an effort to bring further education closer to home. Specialized northern curricula, relating the broad spectrum of learning (mathematics, English language, civic affairs) specifically to the northern environment, are being developed by specialists such as Father Andre Renaud of the University of Saskatchewan, and Paul Robinson, formerly of the Department of Education of the Government of the Northwest Territories. Local Inuit are contributing to the curricula and to the preparation of special textbooks, jointly in English and in Inuktitut (Crowe, 1974:199-201). And finally, as Born suggested, Inuit members of the community are becoming integral parts of the classroom. In Grise Fiord, over 1969 and 1970, several classes were held, exclusive of adult education programs, which provided for

direct community input. Inuit hunters and elders were invited to provide classes in the Inuit language; on legends and culture; on hunting techniques; and on over-the-snow travel. The importance of this last might be emphasized by pointing out that the Inuit language contains more than twenty different words for "snow," each describing the substance under a different condition, and with different properties. These properties are of paramount importance when it comes to building with the substance, or to travelling over it. Many of these classes took place out-of-doors, "in the field" as it were. The girls in school were given lessons in food handling, skin preparation, child hygiene, and so on. It should be stressed that these were skills that the community itself decided were important for the younger generation. The school only provided the time and whatever support materials as were requested. From feedback to this writer at that time, it was felt that the community welcomed the opportunity to become more involved in the formal educational process, and that they appreciated receiving and returning both integrity and respect. On a final note, the young Inuit of Frobisher Bay have begun their own Eskimo University in an effort to preserve the best of their culture (Crowe, 1974:200).

Implications of Education for Northern Community Development

Frank Darnell, in preparing the preface to Education in the North, a selection of the papers presented to the first international conference on cross-cultural education in the circumpolar nations, states:

> The indigenous people of the North face many complex problems as they learn to cope with an invasion of culturally alien and numerically dominant groups from other areas. Formal education systems in the North in all circumpolar nations as one of the several outside elements confronting Native groups have theoretically been organized on principles of democracy and responsiveness to local community needs. But it has become increasingly obvious that existing educational programs are designed primarily to accommodate the language, cultural values, economic system, and general interest of the dominant group from the south.
>
> Darnell, 1972:preface

Two very basic statements, or accusations, are being made by Darnell above. First, the Euro-Canadian administrators and educators profess to having set up a formal educational system in the Arctic which is based upon democratic principles and upon a responsiveness to local community needs. One has only to re-examine the above comments by Graburn, by Koster, and others, to see that this is not so. In fact, what is true, is the second comment made by Darnell; namely, that the existing system is designed to accommodate the language and the values of the dominant, Euro-Canadian culture. Again, Koster and Graburn bear this out. Crowe (1974) as well calls the system that was devised a "foreign system."

> Those well-meaning people who designed the schools, set the studies, and hired the teachers did not think enough about the native way of life, the native way of education, the importance of language, and similar ideas. They did not ask the advice of native parents and did not consider explaining things first to parents so that they could then advise and control their own children.
>
> At most schools almost all teachers spoke only English or French. Their ideas about food, games, manners and time were different from those of the native people. Schools were far larger, better lit, better heated than most native homes. The

> books used in school were all about cities, farms, offices, and other things the children and their parents never saw. The teachers usually stayed only a year or two and the students were always getting used to strangers.
>
> Quiet native children were always being told to "speak up," and encouraged to compete with each other. Native habits like the silent facial yes and no of the Inuit were stopped in class. Altogether school was another world compared to the native homes and life around them.
>
> Crowe, 1974:197-198

The results are two-fold. Educationally, the results of the system, at best, can be described as only fair. If, as is made out, the aims have been to promote democratic principles and to respond to community needs, then the failure has, in the past, been almost complete. If, on the other hand, the aims have actually been to promote and foster the dominant southern culture, then the results can only be described as fair. In other words, the espoused objective has been acculturation, and this has not occurred. What has occurred has been assimilation, and this has only happened to a fair degree. The second results of the system, the social results, have been considerably worse. Crowe describes:

> Parents and grandparents did not understand what the children had gone through, and did not feel responsible or able to control what the "white man's schools" were doing. They gave up trying to teach their children at nights, weekends, or holidays in native ways. When the children spoke English or French, they could not understand.
>
> The children often felt ashamed because they could not hunt, clean skins or make things, travel, and stand the cold as the old folks could. On the other hand they considered the older people rather ignorant and old-fashioned. The old closeness between all ages had been broken.
>
> Crowe, 1974:198

On both sides, on the side of the parents and on the side of the children, the entire education system has produced confusion and resentment. This has extended to the side of the teachers and the educational personnel as well. Confusion of aims and of educational direction has led many northern teachers to return to southern Canada - to return to a cultural framework which they find more comprehensible. Perhaps, then, part of the confusion has arisen from the fact that most of the teachers come into the North to work with the Inuit with little or no previous orientation to the culture, or to the northern environment. What little orientation there has been, has been of an 'on-site' variety. It is not surprising that frustration and confusion often result before understanding takes place. It is not surprising that many teachers leave, bewildered at what they have been trying to do, and at what the entire system has been trying to do. But all of this is past; what of the future?

It is time to seriously ask the question, "Education for what?"

> "When I first came . . . the big question was, 'Education for what?' Every day when the teachers from the south got together to talk about the education system, the question always came up - 'Education for what?' Let me tell you what I am hearing from some of the people who are now twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old and who were in the educational system in the early 1960's. They are telling me about the young people we knew who have died tragically since that time because of circumstances they cannot control; telling me of social disorder and telling me why they are drunk. Believe me, that has a hell of an impact on a person, especially when you have seen them in a different light. They tell me that they had skills for sale but they are not using them now. They are doing 'Joe jobs' despite the skills they acquired ten or twelve years ago. They are being cut out of jobs. They are

> saying there is some discrimination as far as employment is concerned. It's not imaginary, it's real.
>
> "I think the question, "Education for what?' is still valid today."
>
> Glover, 1974:42, emphasis is mine

As the Inuit leader in the Tahagmiut area finally admitted to himself above, the Inuit children must learn to speak English, and they must be educated for today's world. This is taken as a given without question by most eastern Arctic Inuit; this writer's experience has amply shown that. Further, there is absolutely no inconsistency between this aim, and an aim to preserve those parts of the Inuit language, culture, heritage, or tradition which should be preserved. It is this writer's contention that the general objectives of the formal educational system should actively contain both aims. Further, it is this writer's contention that the Inuit themselves are the ones best suited to determining the content and form of their own educational system. At the present, the system is such that the first aim above is being actively pursued; but, because the second is not, the opposite effect is inevitably the case. The local culture, language, and heritage are not being preserved; they are being destroyed and replaced by the dominant southern culture. Education personnel must be educated themselves in the implications of working within, to them, an alien cultural context; and they need to be fully aware of their exact aims and objectives, and to be totally cognizant of the end result for which they are striving. Finally, they have to be careful so as not to impute their own values to the society around them. Recently, Smith (1974) has studied the occupa-

tional preferences of the northern students in several Arctic high schools. Of note, from this study, is the finding that when "the patterns of occupational preference indicated by students were compared with those of teachers asked to complete the questionnaire 'as they thought a native student might do,' a marked dissonance between the students' stated preferences and the teachers' conception of these preferences was detected . . . ." (1974:3).

In conclusion, Crowe sees a final objective of the northern educational system as:

> . . . the job of teaching foreign people to understand and respect native ways enough to "ease up" northern change to a speed that native individuals and society can take in.
>
> Crowe, 1974:199

Chapter VI

Summary and Conclusions

The situation in the Canadian Arctic and the circumstances of the Inuit are dynamic. This was indicated in Chapter I as being one of the limitations of this study, and provided the main reason why the discussions of housing and education were to be historical in perspective and were to end with the present decade. Recent events have done much to reinforce this idea. Even as this thesis is being typed the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada have filed their land claims proposal with the federal cabinet and they have called for the establishment of their own territory "Nunavut." Changes are occurring sufficiently rapidly in the Canadian North - in the administrative, political, and social structures - that analyses of the situation tend to be outdated even before they are read. However, rather than serving to nullify a study such as this, it only serves to increase the need for further and more definitive study.

In summary, then, the main housing program of the Canadian Government for the Inuit of the eastern Arctic was instituted on a "crash" basis . . . to meet pressing physical and health needs. These needs were alleviated, but housing designs and program administration conformed to southern "Euro-Canadian" values, not to those of the Inuit. Under this program it quickly became evident that the purchase of a home was economically unfeasible. A shift was made, therefore, to a rental system, casting the Government in the role of landlord.

The Government recognized that a rental system was necessary, but that increased local participation in the program was essential. An "education for housing" program had been established in an effort to ease the transition into a permanent bungalow, but this program was not as successful as had been hoped.

In an effort to meet the participation need, housing authorities were established in each community. These associations were to evolve through three phases, each more responsible to the community than the one before, and each phase was to find the Government administrator increasingly relegated to a non-participatory role. Furthermore, the housing association was to determine the phase into which they wished themselves placed. However, two factors mitigated against effective Inuit control of the housing associations. The first was the de facto authority which was automatically vested in the Government Agent, whether he was aware of it or not; and the second was that housing associations' decisions were always subject to Government veto. Therefore, the associations found themselves primarily functioning in the "safe" area of physical maintenance.

Finally, the Government may have carried out this program with the best of intentions, but it totally disregarded two basic facets of the Inuit value system - namely, no allowance was made within the system for leadership on the basis of Inuit values; and, no allowance was made for the understanding or accommodation of the Inuit system of reciprocity.

The educational program of the Government in the Canadian North was a recent phenomenon. It was ambitious, and espoused the main objective of providing, for all northerners, educational opportunity equal to that for all other Canadians. The school and its formal education system was one of the main factors contributing to social change in the North. It made little allowance, however, for any indigenous educational process. This process, Hetzler maintains, is essential to the perpetuation of culture and to the retention of identity.

By and large the teachers, all of whom came from southern Canada, were unprepared in the Inuit culture, and in their own objectives within the northern educational system. Therefore, that system mirrored, both in content and in attitude, that which was to be found in southern Canada. In the case of the eastern Arctic, it mirrored what was to be found in Ontario. In spite of this incongruity, many Inuit indicated that the schools must educate the children in the English language so that other education could follow.

Besides the formal education process, there was an informal one, centered around exposure to the English language and to Euro-Canadian values. This informal system had an enormous impact on the individual, on the family, and on the community.

Both the informal and the formal processes tended to educate the

Inuit away from his own culture and away from his own society.

For the family the informal processes were important. The children received socialization in southern values, and pupil residences and continued education tended to further break down family ties. At the community level, itself, a feedback mechanism did enter. Classroom assistants were employed to ease the transition for young children from the home to the school, and to ease their transition into the English language. At this level it became obvious that community leadership passed to those Inuit with a good command of the English language.

At the community level, as well, adult education became an important tool. Adult education was, increasingly, a two-fold process: educational programs were held for adults; and Inuit adults were sometimes asked to provide culture and language programs for the children.

More recently, specialized northern curricula have been developed and employed for northern education.

Finally, much of the confusion and resentment, which was evident when the system began, is still evident today; and a very big question remains unanswered: 'Education for what?'

Chapter III examined the field of community development and established a theoretical framework within which northern community development could be viewed. In that Chapter, the various theories were simply laid down, and an effort was made to present the broad spectrum across which the views and the approaches fell. Some of these approaches obviously pertained to the realm of northern community development; for example, the United Nations model was regarded as the one most practically oriented, and the one best fitted to the "needs" of the northern people. Others, like that espoused by the United States Chamber of Commerce, were fraught with vested interests, and did little more than bastardize the concept of citizen involvement.

However, all of these views and approaches, including those of the United Nations, mainly ignore a most crucial issue in community development, and this is the non-sequitur that northern development is imminent, necessary, and desirable. This is not to say that the assumptions underlying northern development are invalid, or, for that matter, that they are valid. This is only to say that they have never been examined to see if they are valid. The presupposition has been that development is necessary and programs have been built on that base. It is past time that the presupposition itself needs to be examined and, if necessary, abandoned.

Lagasse, reputed to be the founder of much of the community development in Manitoba, and in Canada, begins his four premises in Chapter III by assuming that all persons or groups, no matter how unambitious they

may appear on first encounter, have a strong desire to better their condition. He further assumes that, given the opportunity, all persons will rise at the chance to improve their lot. Lagasse takes this as assumption, not fact. Implicit in this is a very patronizing attitude, little better than that attributed to Poston. In other words, "We have the best, the only worthwhile, lifestyle. As soon as others see our lifestyle, they will obviously wish to live like us." This type of assumption makes democracy synonymous with good and right. It also makes native synonymous with unhappy and change to a Euro-Canadian lifestyle synonymous with change for the better. These assumptions, as assumptions, are not only absurd, they are patently dishonest.

The United Nations model also makes an assumption which requires a closer look. It involves the concept of mutual benefit and, when applied to northern Canada, seems to say, "the development of the North, for the benefit of the nation as a whole, is also for the benefit of the North." Considering that the North is a vast storehouse of proven resources, this is a very good assumption for southern Canadians to make. For the northerner, however, it is a very frightening assumption.

Closer examination seems to indicate that the mutual benefit concept of the United Nations model is more of a one-way benefit - towards the dominant culture.

The assumption remains in development work in northern Canada today that change is imminent and that it is necessary. Now, however, it is

seriously beginning to be questioned by the northerners themselves. For example, the question "Education for what?" was raised in Chapter V. This question is being heard more and more frequently. Furthermore, the proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline is being questioned with "Is it necessary or desirable?" and "Why is it necessary or desirable?" Neither the Government, nor private industry have been able to provide good and serious answers to these questions as yet. However, they are going to have to in order to justify the development which has already passed, and which is ongoing.

The housing program of the Federal Government exhibited no more than tokenism towards the Inuit and on Arnstein's ladder, the program would fit on the third rung, at the stage of informing.

Neither in its inception nor in its design was there any degree of consultation with the Inuit. The housing program was conceived to meet what the Federal Government considered to be urgent health and housing problems; and, from the Government's standpoint that curative measures are far more costly than preventive ones, it felt that it was justified. Certainly, health standards did improve and, in part, this can be attributed to the housing program. But, what of citizen involvement?

When the program was first instituted, local participation was not only non-existent, it was also thought to be unnecessary. The new homes were to be a form of therapy for the Inuit, curing their physical ills, and attempting to prevent their present and future social ills. This

latter was thought to be best accomplished by socializing the Inuit into the values of the dominant Euro-Canadian society. The program itself demonstrated that this was undertaken with the best of intentions, but it totally ignored the fact that the Government was either ignorant of, or insensitive to, the Inuit culture.

The establishment of the local housing authorities was a step towards local involvement, albeit after-the-fact. They did, however, ignore the community (traditional and cultural) power structure, in many instances vesting authority in those who were facile in the English language. Secondly, from the regard in which the Euro-Canadian administrator was held, these associations were no more than what Arnstein would classify as "manipulatory." Thirdly, with the advancement of the association through the third phase, of which the Government Officer was no longer a part, it became "consultative" in nature. Again, consultation only grants token power to a group because the Government remained at liberty to accept or reject as it saw fit.

While the housing education program, in conjunction with the provision of housing units, was not as successful in the eyes of the Government as it had been hoped, it was still more successful than that of Greenland. Canada did recognize that trained education officers were required to assist in the transition from traditional housing into units of southern Canadian standard. That these officers were untrained in Inuit culture and Inuit values, was thought to be irrelevant (Schuurman, 1970; Gordon, 1971).

Di Franco's "Composite List of Principles" provides a convenient check against which any development program can be measured; and, in terms of community development, the northern housing program does not stand up very well. The program was certainly based on extant conditions, but it ignored the cultural base of those local conditions; and it failed to involve the people in actions to "promote" their own welfare. Although the program was based on perceived needs, interests were not solicited; and the program was more abrupt than gradual. Democracy is not always best when applied to other cultures; and the program was relatively inflexible - change occurred only in the direction of the dominant culture. Local leaders were ignored, and new ones were established. The program was certainly evaluated, but not on a continuous basis, and then only in terms of Euro-Canadian values. Finally, the Government was at pains to help the people to recognize their needs, but they were the "needs" as perceived by the Government.

The discussion constantly returns to the basic assumption that development, as it has been described here, is both necessary and desirable. In relation to both housing and education this assumption needs to be seriously examined with the Inuit themselves, and on the basis of that examination specific recommendations on form and substance can be made.

The northern educational process is based upon the replacement of Inuit cultural values, and upon assimilation as distinct from acculturation.

It is axiomatic that education is a very powerful force in society, especially in terms of socialization. However, the question continually arises: "Education for what?" From the examination of the program instituted in the North, the answer to this appears to be: education for the subordination of the Inuit culture to that of Euro-Canada. While it does not appear possible to attribute this process to any manner of "devious intrigue," it does seem to be occurring through ignorance and through default.

In the light of the Di Franco principles, the northern education program would fare little better than did the northern housing program. In each case the interests, needs, and desires of the people - those all important issues around which true community development is constructed - were, in fact, those of the Government, or they were those of the people as perceived by the Government. In addition, the degree of citizen participation has not been seen to progress beyond the token "consultative" level.

Under no circumstances can this be construed as true community development.

Further clouding the entire issue of northern community development at the present time is the fact that the Government of the Northwest Territories, under the Commissioner in Yellowknife, holds the responsibilities which were previously charged to Ottawa. This includes human

resource development, such as housing and education, but excludes natural resource development. The Yellowknife Government is modelled on provincial standards and, as such, comprises the usual line and service departments. To the extent that interdepartmental rivalries do exist in any bureaucracy, this mitigates the advantages accrued by D.I.A.N.D., of having a single agency responsible for northern development. Added to this picture is the fact that the Commissioner is a Federal civil servant, an employee with the rank of deputy-minister in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. As such, he is responsible, not to the Inuit or to the northern people, but solely to Ottawa. There is, therefore, the distinct possibility of, and indeed there has been, serious conflict of interest (Richardson, 1971; Usher, 1972). It is unrealistic at this time to expect the Federal Government to relinquish its control of natural resource development within the territories; but it should not be unrealistic to require that the Commissioner be more responsible to the people of the Northwest Territories.

Based upon the conclusions arrived at, above, the following recommendations are given for consideration:

1. There should be an immediate and comprehensive examination, involving the Inuit themselves, of the basic assumption that "development (change) in the North is both necessary and desirable." Until such time as this is done, all development should be held in abeyance.

2. In conjunction with the Inuit themselves there should be a comprehensive and immediate evaluation taken of both the housing and the education programs in the North. Built into this evaluation should be an examination of what the past objectives have been, and what the future objectives should be.

3. For all Government and private officials who are employed in the North in positions of direct or indirect contact with the indigenous population, every opportunity should be taken to have them properly apprised of culture and cultural values, as they differ from their own. This should be completed at public expense, and, through Northwest Territories legislation, should be made a condition of hire, or of continued employment.

4. The position of Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, as an appointed position, should be abolished. In its place, the position of Chairman of the Council of the Northwest Territories, or a comparable term, should be established as an elected position with all of the duties, responsibilities, and powers inherent in the present position. The Chairman would be elected by the members of the Council of the Northwest Territories, from among their membership.

Need for Further Study

It should be noted that there is a considerable need for further study on the situation in the North in general, and in the eastern Arctic in particular. This thesis has brought forth some of the

shortcomings of the development process of the Canadian Government, and it has demonstrated that well-meaning intentions are often not enough. It has outlined some more specific areas where studies should be undertaken. Too often in the past, northern areas have attempted development in isolation from other northern areas. Each region has problems which are uniquely its own, each also has problems in common with the others. Therefore, the need for a comprehensive comparative analysis of circumpolar development is paramount. The North is bound together by common interest, and out of that interest will, hopefully, come solutions for many immediate and frustrating problems.

Since this has been an exploratory survey, it can only provide a background. It is up to further study to build upon that background; and if this thesis has caused any reader to pause and reflect on the North, then it has served a useful purpose.

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APPENDIX I

Nordic Index: criteria, classes, score.

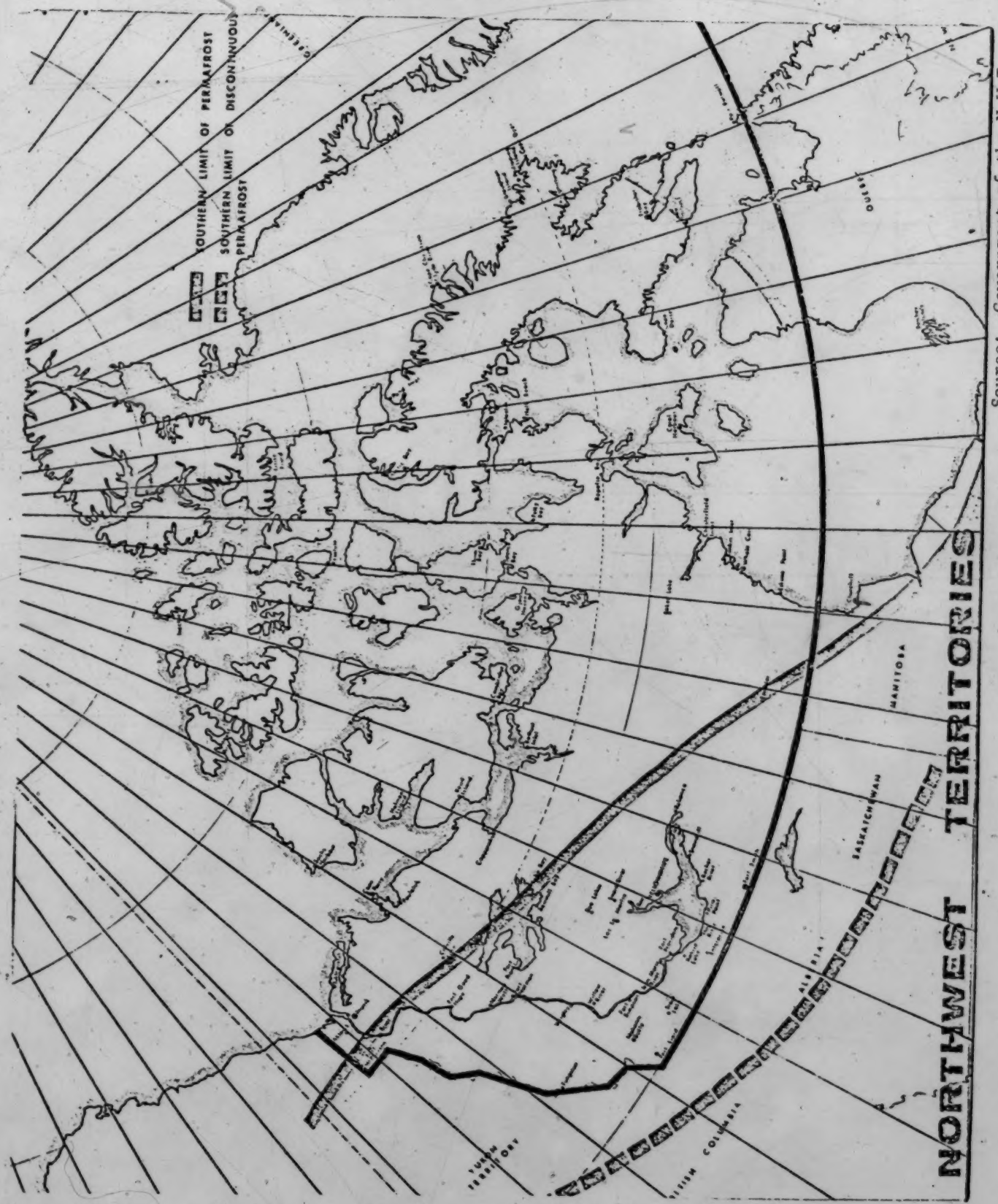
CRITERIA	CLASSES	SCORE
1. Latitude	90 degrees	100
	80 degrees	77
	70 degrees	55
	60 degrees	33
	50 degrees	11
	45 degrees	0
2. Summer Heat	0 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	100
	40 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	80
	60 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	70
	80 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	60
	100 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	45
	120 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	30
	135 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	20
	more than 150 days above 42 degrees F. (5.6 C)	0
3. Annual Cold	more than 12,000 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	100
	10,000 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	85
	8,500 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	75
	7,000 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	65
	5,250 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	45
	3,500 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	30
	2,250 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	15
	less than 1,000 day-degrees F. above 32 degrees F. (0C)	0
4. Types of Ice		
4a. Permafrost	Permafrost, continuous and 1500 ft. thick	100
	Permafrost, discontinuous	60
	Semi-permafrost, for 9 months	50
	Semi-permafrost, for 4 months	20
	Semi-permafrost, for less than one month	0
or		
4b. Floating Ice	Permanent pack ice in the Arctic Ocean	100
	Pack ice in the peri-Arctic (Baffin)	90
	Pack ice for 6 months	40
	Pack ice for 4 months	20
	Pack ice for less than one month	0
or		
4c. Glaciers	Ice cap, 5,000 ft. thick (1524 m) and more	100
	Ice sheet, about 1,000 ft. thick (304 m)	60
	Névé	20
	Covering of Névé for less than 11 months	0

CRITERIA	CLASSES	SCORE
5. Total Precipitation	less than	
	4 inches (100 mm)	100
	8 inches (200 mm)	80
	12 inches (300 mm)	60
	16 inches (400 mm)	30
	more than	
	20 inches (500 mm)	0
6. Vegetation	Stony desert	100
	Thin tundra	80
	Thick, shrub tundra	60
	Open forest (subarctic, parkland)	40
	Continuous forest (coniferous)	0
7. Accessibility other than by air (heavy transport)	No service	100
	Seasonal service:	
	once a year	80
	for 2 months	60
	for 6 months, or 2 "seasons"	40
	Service throughout the year:	
	one form only	20
	more than one form	0
8. Air service	Nearest airfield, approx. 1,000 miles	100
	Nearest airifeld, approx. 300 miles	80
	Nearest airfield, approx. 30 miles	60
	Regular service, twice a month	40
	Regular service, twice a week	15
	More than one service a day	0
9. Population	None	100
	from 20 to 30	90
9a. Number of inhabitants in a settlement	approx. 500	75
	approx. 1,000	60
	approx. 3,000	20
	more than 5,000	0
or		
9b. Population density of the region (100,000 square miles)	Uninhabited	100
	0.01 persons per square mile	90
	1 person per square mile	70
	2.5 persons per square mile	50
	5 persons per square mile	25
	10 persons per square mile	0
10. Degree of economic activity	No production and none foreseeable	100
	Prospecting, but not yet exploited	80
	Gathering, or extractive industries or crafts	50

CRITERIA	CLASSES	SCORE
10. Degree of economic activity	Large ore bodies, entrepot, or terminus	30
	Large "secondary" industries	15
	Interregional centre for multiple services	0

Source: from Hamelin, 1969:Table I.

APPENDIX 2.



Source: Government of the N.W.T.